

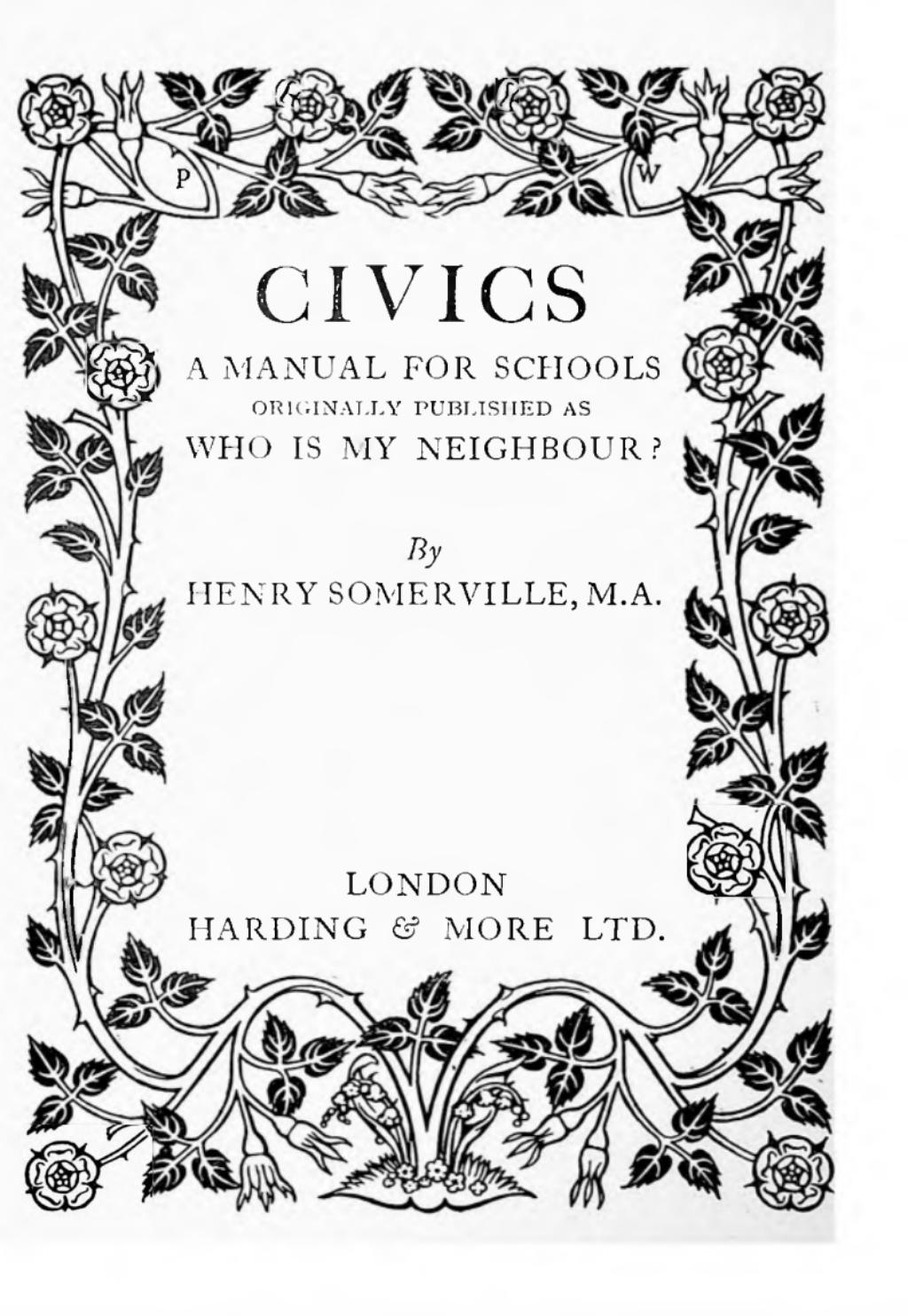
CIVICS

A MANUAL FOR SCHOOLS.

HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

LONDON:

HARRINGTON & MORE LTD.

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GIVICS

A MANUAL FOR SCHOOLS

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED AS

WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?

By

HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

LONDON
HARDING & MORE LTD.

First printed 1929
Second Edition 1936

*Made and Printed in Great Britain for the Ambrosden Press
by Hatell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury*

Dedication

To
MARGARET
and
PETER

PREFACE

CIVICS as treated in this little book is the more elementary and practical parts of the sciences of politics and social economics. These are among the most humanly interesting of all branches of knowledge, dealing as they do with how men secure for themselves law and order and livelihood. The studies here presented are intended to prepare school pupils for the active life of citizenship, and therefore an ethical treatment has been adopted. The aim is always to bring home to the young reader a realization of what is implied by the good old English word "commonwealth."

The scope of the book is shown by the titles of chapters. The political and constitutional subjects come first, but the social economic questions are treated at greater length. The fuller treatment of social economics is justified for two reasons—first, because the school pupil does not learn much about these questions from his other books, as he learns something of politics and the constitution from history ; secondly, the fundamental political institutions of this country at the present day are happily not matters of acute controversy, while in the field of social economics the problems to-day are both difficult and pressing.

Efforts have been made to make the book simple and elementary and yet to deal with the essentials of the subject, not with the merely easy or pictur-

esque. It is hoped that the book will be within the grasp of the average pupil of twelve years of age and upwards. The author is conscious that the explanations of such delicate relations as those between capital and labour and co-operation and competition require close attention from the reader to follow the arguments and appreciate the balance of judgment. Yet this may not be asking too much of young readers, for questions of work and wages, of buying and selling, and business management, come early and prominently into their lives, and their experiences will have prepared them for the thoughtful consideration of such problems.

The *Questions and Points for Essays* at the end of each chapter may be particularly useful to adult members of study circles.

To give references for further reading on all the subjects touched upon in this book would be to make a formidable bibliography. The student who wishes to make himself an authority will have no difficulty in finding books for his purpose. Some very modest hints will be more practical for the ordinary teacher and reader. Seeley's *Introduction to Political Science* will be a good companion and supplement to the first five chapters of this primer. J. A. R. Marriott's *English Political Institutions* will reinforce the next half-dozen chapters. Chapters XIV.-XIX., dealing with economic principles, may be followed by Ely and

Wicker's *Elementary Principles of Economics*. The study of the remaining chapters, dealing with institutions and agencies of social welfare, would be greatly stimulated by Dr. Gilbert Slater's *Making of Modern England*. Two exceedingly useful compilations are *English Local Government*, published by Ruskin College, Oxford, price 6d., and *Public Social Services*, published by The National Council of Social Service, price 2s.

An industrial history of England should be read : there are many good volumes published, and it goes without saying that the most elementary study of Civics requires a reading of the general history of our own country.

H. S.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE writer had moved to a part of the Empire Overseas when he had the pleasing task of revising this book for a new edition. He has not found it necessary to do more than bring some statistics up to date and to note the exceedingly gratifying improvement in housing conditions since 1929, when the first edition appeared.

H. S.

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CIVICS

Chapter One

OURSELVES AND SOCIETY

Union versus Separation



HEAP of twigs is lying before us. Picking them up one by one we can easily break them with our fingers. Tie those same twigs in a bundle and we cannot break them no matter how hard we try. The lesson taught by this example is that separation means weakness, while union gives strength. Imagine one man playing football against a full team of eleven. If he was anything like the same player as his opponents he could not possibly win. A hundred men could not defeat a team of eleven if each man of the hundred went to play separately against the team. Numbers only do not give strength unless there is union. As it is in

our sports, so is it in the sternest affairs of life. Soldiers fight in companies, brigades, divisions and armies. Battleships keep together in fleets. Airships go forth in squadrons. In war as in peace men must act upon the truth that separation means weakness and union gives strength.

But there is a deeper truth to be learned. Think of a twig upon a tree. The twig is alive, it grows and gives forth leaves. Break it from the tree and it withers and dies. By its union with the parent tree it derived not simply strength, but life itself. It cannot have life and growth otherwise. As dead wood it may have its uses, but they are entirely different from its use as part of a living tree. Twigs bound in a bundle are not different in nature from separate twigs, but the difference between a twig growing on a tree and a twig lying by itself is the difference between life and death, between growth and decay.

The Meaning of Organism

Twigs in a bundle represent the unity of combination, but the twig on a tree represents something more than combination, something that we call an organism, because it is a living whole with parts which share in the life of the whole. Where an organism is concerned, union is life and separation is death.

Our own bodies are organisms, and the parts of

the body which have work to do to keep us in life and health are called organs. The eye is for seeing, the ear for hearing, the lungs for breathing, the heart makes our blood circulate. No organ or part of the body can live apart from the organism which is the whole body. For its full, perfect powers the body needs all its organs and there are some single organs, like the heart, which are absolutely necessary to its life. Other organs, like the eyes, are not necessary to the body's life, but only to its completeness.

As a twig must be growing on a tree if it is not to be mere withered wood, and a hand must be joined to its natural body if it is not to be a piece of corruption, so must a human being belong to a society of other human beings if he is to live a truly human life. There are three great kinds of life on this earth. There is vegetable life like that of the plants, which includes the processes of growth, reproduction, feeding, breathing ; there is animal life, which includes the powers of consciousness and feeling ; and there is human life, which has the supreme power we call reason. This power of reason, which raises man above the animals, gives him a likeness to the Divine, so that in the first chapter of *Genesis* the Creator is represented as saying : " Let us make man to our own image and likeness : and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth."

Human Life must be Social Life

It is possible to imagine a young child cast on an island away from all human society keeping alive and growing to old age. But it would be an animal and not a human life, for without intercourse with his fellows he could not completely develop his human powers. One of the greatest books ever written on the subject we are now studying is called the *Politics* of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, and at the beginning of his book he tells us that "man is a social being." He who, says Aristotle, by nature and not by mere accident, belongs not to society, may be lower or higher than man, a beast or a god, but cannot be human. What the great Greek philosopher observed had already been expressed in the *Book of Genesis*, "And the Lord God said : It is not good for man to be alone : let us make him a help like unto himself."

Adam and Eve, husband and wife, represented that first and most important of all societies, the *family*. It is by means of the family that each one of us is brought into the world and we are nurtured and taught in the family until we have passed the helplessness of babyhood. Later we join the society which is called the *school*, where we learn other things which cannot be so well learned in our homes. When we grow up we take our place as citizens in our village or town and in that wider

society which is called our country, or the *nation*, or the *State*.

By the study of Civics we learn more of our own nature as human beings. We learn about the societies of which we are members, and how we may play our parts worthily and do our share to add to the happiness of our country and the fame of our nation.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is meant by the Social Organism?*
2. *Give examples of the value of combination.*
3. *Name the societies of which you are a member.*

Chapter Two

THE FAMILY THE FIRST SOCIETY

The Seed of all other Societies

ALL the wonderful growth of the plant creation, the food-yielding wheat, the beautiful flowers, the noble trees, spring from tiny seeds. Sometimes seeds are carried far by birds and dropped in new ground, where they take root and grow. Sometimes men carry seeds across the seas on purpose to make them grow in a new country. What seeds are in the vegetable kingdom, so is the family in the world of societies. Empires, nations and cities, religious bodies like churches, institutions for the advancement of learning like universities, these are all societies and they have all grown from one society, the society which all of us know better than any other, namely, the family. The family is the seed society. From it, all other societies grow. If all other societies were to be broken up, and the family remained, the family would in course of time again produce the larger societies which must always exist where there is civilization.

The family is formed by the union of husband and wife and it is completed by the birth of children. Some societies exist only at certain times and in certain places, but the family exists always and everywhere. It exists because of instincts and desires implanted by Nature in the

hearts of all human beings. Husband and wife come together because of a wonderful attraction of love. Children are born to them, and their love of their children becomes the chief motive force of their lives. Parents cheerfully toil and suffer and make sacrifices all their lives long for their children. The majority of men and women would fall victims to laziness and extravagance if they were not impelled to labour and economy in order to provide for their children. Family feeling is the strongest incentive to the virtues which make life good and happy and which make nations strong and prosperous.

The Primitive Patriarchal Family

If we go back as far as we can in the history of the human race we find a time when there was no nation, no city, no community of any sort except the family. It would be a family in a wider sense than we think of the family to-day. There would be not only the father and mother with young children but there would be married children and grandchildren all living under the same roof and acknowledging the rule of the head of the family, called the patriarch.

The family was a little kingdom and the patriarch was a king. He ruled supreme and his word was law. There was no other law. The members of the family might not all be blood relations, because outsiders were sometimes

brought in and *adopted* with solemn ceremonies as members of the family. Again let us refer to the *Book of Genesis*, where we can learn much history as well as religion. The great patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were kings because they were chiefs of families. The fourteenth chapter of *Genesis* records the battle of four kings against five, the four kings being victorious and taking prisoner Lot, the nephew of Abraham, whereupon Abraham, acting as king, collected his own forces, "three hundred and eighteen servants born in his house," and rescued Lot after fighting and defeating his captors.

Among human societies the family comes historically first. It has not all the same functions to perform to-day as in earlier times, but it is still of the first importance among all societies. The nation owes to families its population ; it is in and by the family that children are born and nurtured.

Teaching and Training in the Family

Children learn a great deal at school, but they receive their earliest education in the family. Home influences are the most powerful in the formation of character. Living with father and mother, brothers and sisters, children learn social life, doing things together, whether work or play, helping each other, practising co-operation and unselfishness. If these lessons are not learned at

home it is to be feared that they will never be learned.

There is a sense in which the family is still a little kingdom. In family matters the commands of the parents are law. The parents govern, the children obey. This learning of the meaning of government and obedience by the whole population in their families is of the greatest value in making for good government and respect for law in the wider life of the State or nation. In the same way, the habits of industry which are so important to the prosperity of the State are first inculcated in children by their parents.

The Heritage of the Ages

Many families have treasured possessions which are handed down from generation to generation. Rich families have costly works of art, and poor families also have their articles of beauty or utility which link one generation to another. It is not only material things that are handed down. Knowledge and skill and virtues are passed on, increasing from generation to generation. It would be a poor world if every generation had to begin without any inheritance of culture from those which preceded it. Society in such case would still be as far from civilization as were the cave men. We have libraries to preserve books with the wisdom and knowledge of the past. We have art galleries where students to-day can draw

inspiration from the masterpieces of painters now dead. But most of what man has gained in the past, both in spiritual and material things, is possessed in families and is transmitted from generation to generation by means of families. **The family is the link keeping the past, the present and the future of mankind in a unity.**

So imperatively demanded by human nature is the family that it can never be destroyed as long as the human race persists. Yet it is possible to spoil and weaken the family. They are bad parents who are ready to allow others to relieve them of their natural duties of bringing up their own children. Parents should provide for the needs of their children's bodies and guide the formation of their minds. The State may assist parents by means of schools, with teachers and doctors and nurses, but the primary responsibility always rests upon the parents. So far as parents become neglectful, or unable to perform their natural duties, there is a decay of family life which bodes the decay of the nation.

Children must remember that they owe life and all that is best in life to their parents. They owe them a debt of love and obedience ; they have been given to their parents by God and placed by Him in their charge and under their authority. The child who fails in love and obedience is acting against Nature and the God of Nature.

The family rests upon marriage as its founda-

tion. The true marriage is a union that lasts as long as life. Man and woman vow to be bound to each other for better or worse, for richer or poorer, in sickness and health until parted by death. To make a final, irrevocable promise of this kind, and to be faithful to it, is to rise to the heights of human nature and to perform an act of the highest value to society, for it is to found a home where children may live happy lives and be trained to take their part as citizens of the nation.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Why is the Family the most important society?*
2. *In what ways is the Family like a School?*
3. *What are the mutual duties of parents and children?*

Chapter Three

THE UNION OF FAMILIES MAKES THE NATION

NO doubt you have seen some great river like the Thames, the Clyde, the Mersey or the Tyne. You see a wide expanse of water on which ships with commerce from every clime can ride. These great rivers are formed by the joining together of numbers of small streams. Every river at its source is a small stream, but it is joined by other streams which add to its width and depth until it can bear on its bosom the largest ships.

British Races and the British Nation

As many streams come together to make a great river, so is the great society which we call the nation formed by the union of those small societies called families. All members of the British nation are bound together under one government, and thus form what is called civil society, or political society, or the State. In the nation there are millions of different families and a number of different races, English, Scots, Irish and Welsh. These races themselves in the course of history have been formed by mixtures of other races, Britons, Saxons, Picts, Danes, Normans.

It is really a very wonderful thing that men should be able to live together as we see them in a nation, orderly and united. When we see a horse patient and submissive between the shafts

of a wagon, responding obediently to the slightest touch from its driver, we should hardly guess that the horse had once been wild and had needed to be broken in by a difficult process.

Evolution of the State

Man himself would be very wild if he had not been broken in by a process of social training. Even to-day, every individual from his earliest childhood has to be trained to fit him for his place in the ordered society which exists. There was a time when the ordered society itself did not exist and had to be evolved by a long process. There was a time before the rise of nations when there was no society but the family, and it was by the family that men received their whole training in social life. We shall learn how from the family came the State, or civil society.

In the early days of mankind population was exceedingly scattered. Men would wander from place to place and live by hunting and fishing. Later they settled down and kept domestic animals, staying in one place until the pasture there was exhausted. Still later they became more fixed to one spot, for they learned to grow crops. In these primitive conditions one family might have little or nothing to do with another. The family itself would be a large unit, married sons and daughters with their children living under the roof and rule of the patriarch.

The Division of Families

In course of time, however, the family would split up. As numbers grew there would be too many people in the house, the pastures would be insufficient for all the flocks and herds, and it would be necessary to take more distant land for cultivation ; so a married son with his wife and children, and servants and flocks and herds would go forth from his father's house and start a new home.

Division of families in this way meant a growth of independence, but it did not break family ties. A group of related families formed a clan. With the continued growth and division of families a still larger related group, called a tribe, came into existence.

The feeling of unity, based upon blood relationship, was a very sacred thing to the earliest men. This feeling was closely bound up with religion. It was a solemn duty to honour ancestors, or even worship them. The family hearth was an altar, and among many peoples the hearth fire was never allowed to go out, because it represented the unbroken life of the family and the union of those living with those who had gone before.

The Clan and the Tribe

The clan and the tribe, being extensions of the family, enabled large numbers of men, sometimes

separated by considerable distances, to feel that they were one community. This was of immense value in enabling men to rise from the state of barbarism. If there had been nothing but man against man, and family against family, there could have been no peace and no progress. For a long time men were not capable of living in friendship and harmony with each other unless they were of the same family, clan or tribe. They regarded outsiders with suspicion and hostility, and only too often there was chronic war between different tribes. It was an important thing that the feeling of blood relationship kept peace and a certain amount of agreement and common action between a fairly large group like the tribe.

Kinship and Adoption

While men still thought that there could be no social union except that which was based on kinship they took a step forward by the practice of adoption—that is to say, a stranger, whether child or adult, might be adopted with solemn ceremony as a member of an established family, and the adopted person thereupon took a position not only in the family, but in the clan and tribe.

The practice of adoption accustomed men to the thought that members of a society need not all be of the same blood. It was found that loyalty and unity could exist on another basis. As populations grew, and men lived closer together,

it was necessary for them to have established relations. They had to be members of one society, recognizing the same laws. If there had not been social union there must have been war. Men had first learned to associate on the basis of common descent. The practice of adoption shows them learning to associate on the basis of simple neighbourhood. This seems very natural to us, but it seemed very strange in early times, and the association of one stock with another was made more acceptable by taking the form of adoption into families.

The Birth of the State

Families, clans, and even neighbouring tribes, more or less akin, would find it to their interest to join with each other for common purposes, such as defence against enemies, and in this way civil society, or the State, which is political organization and more than family relationship, came into being. It was only after ages of progress and education that men became capable of the great Nation-States which we know to-day.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is the difference between Race and Nation ?*
2. *Describe the Patriarchal Family.*
3. *What have been the relations between Family, Clan, Tribe and State ?*

Chapter Four

THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNMENT

Control versus Confusion

WHEN a foreigner comes to London or some other of our busy cities one of the things he most admires is the regulation of street traffic. The policeman stands at a point where roads intersect—or there are mechanical light signals which relieve him of part of his duties. There is traffic moving in all directions, north, south, east, west. Tramcars, omnibuses, motor-cars, lorries, horses and carts are hurrying along. The policeman looks a mere pygmy in the dense throng, yet when he raises his arm the long lines of vehicles before him and behind him come to a stop. Drivers and passengers are often in a great hurry and feeling very impatient, but they do not move on their way until they get the right signal. When the northward and southward traffic is stopped, the eastward and westward traffic can pass along.

Without proper regulation there would be hopeless confusion and much delay and many collisions. Because drivers stop when signalled to do so they actually get on more quickly than if they tried to cut through intersecting traffic whenever they thought they saw an opportunity. The policeman has authority over the drivers using the roads, and they obey him because the regulation of

traffic is necessary for the safety and convenience of all concerned. It is a good British habit to act cheerfully and readily as the policeman directs, which is why this country has a high reputation for its regulation of street traffic.

Authority in Cricket

In a cricket team there is a captain. He has to take decisions for his side. If he wins the toss he must decide whether his team or the opponents should bat first. He chooses the bowlers he thinks best against the particular batsmen according to the state of the wicket. He places his fielders in the places for which he thinks them best fitted. It would be an impossible game of cricket in which every player did as he pleased instead of obeying his captain. The captain has authority to give orders and it is the duty of other players to obey.

Besides the authority of the captain over his side there is also another authority over both captains and both teams, the authority of the laws of cricket. The number of players in a team, the length of the pitch, the spacing of the wickets, the weight of the ball, the size of the bat, the reckoning of scores, l.b.w. and "wides" are only a few of the matters determined by cricket law. Further, there is the authority of the umpire, who, in his sphere, is superior to the captains.

Street traffic and the game of cricket afford two familiar examples of the need of authority and

obedience. In every society, great or small, in every undertaking in which several people jointly take part, there must be authority and its correlative, obedience. It is the same in the family, in school, in the workshop, and above all, in the greatest of all societies, the State. In a society there must be numbers, but with these numbers there must be some unity of action, or they would not form a society. Our bodies are unities because they are under the control of our minds. We can open or close our eyes and mouths, lift our arms and walk and run as the will directs. When our members are not under our control, when they are immovable as in paralysis or when they move against our will as in St. Vitus's Dance, we are victims of disease. In the same way, a society which lacks necessary unity of action through failure of authority and obedience is a society diseased and feeble.

Obedience Given Willingly

It would be a great mistake to think of authority and obedience as personified by a tyrannical master and an unwilling slave. As the examples from the regulation of street traffic and the cricket field show, authority is exercised, and obedience is often rendered with such goodwill that it is not even thought about. The drivers of vehicles want to have a common rule and an officer to apply the rule. The cricketers want to have a

game played according to rules and leaders who can decide quickly and avoid disputes. It is the will of the ruled that there should be a ruler, because rule is for the benefit of all.

There are, indeed, occasions when obedience is irksome, and we can only bring ourselves to obey by an act of self-control. There may be a rule we do not like, or a decision we do not like, or we may dislike the particular person entrusted with authority. Sometimes we may unwillingly obey for fear of punishment, but it is generally our moral duty to obey against our own wishes because obedience to proper authority is necessary for the well-being of the society to which we belong. It is the nature of man to need society, and it is the nature of society to need authority. Thus Nature and the God of Nature impose on us the duty of obedience.

Forms of Political Authority

There are two kinds of societies which are most necessary to man—domestic society or the family, and political society or the State. Domestic authority and political authority are therefore especially necessary and have the most sacred and most binding force. Every State must have authority, the right to make laws and enforce obedience, even to the extent of punishing disobedience by death in grave cases. But the authority may take different forms. Political

authority may be centred in one man, a King, or in a small aristocratic class, or it may be shared by a multitude of voters. States have been divided into three kinds, Monarchies, Aristocracies and Democracies, according to the powers of government being exercised by One, by the Few, or by the Many. But government is not a simple thing ; it is very complex. The Government of Britain, for example, is in some ways monarchical, in some ways aristocratic, and in other ways democratic. We therefore say that Britain has a " mixed " constitution or form of government.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What would happen in a society without authority ?*
2. *Why do we say Britain has a " mixed " constitution ?*
3. *Give examples, from the past or the present, of the three kinds of States, monarchies, aristocracies and democracies.*

Chapter Five

THE LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT

Resistance to Unjust Rule

IN our country's history a high place of honour is given to men who championed the liberties of the subject against unjust rule. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, led a national movement against the tyranny of King John. There had been a Coronation Charter of King Henry I. with a royal guarantee of the liberties of the people. Langton read this charter in St. Paul's Cathedral and he persuaded the barons to swear to fight, if need be, to secure their liberties from King John. The result of the struggle was the signing of the Great Charter by King John at Runnymede in 1215, the Charter which has ever since been appealed to by patriots in defence of British liberties.

We are proud to be British subjects, and the word "subject" indicates that we are under authority, that we obey a law, and we do not claim the right simply to please ourselves. But in acknowledging our duties of obedience to lawful government we do not admit ourselves slaves. Government has rights over us and we have duties to obey the Government, but we ourselves have rights which the Government has the duty to hold inviolate.

The Relation between Rights and Duties

Duties and rights are correlatives : one implies the other, as parents and children, right and left, upper and lower. If one man has a right, other men have the duty of respecting that right. If a man has a right to some property, it is the duty of all other men to leave him in possession of it.

There is a deeper truth to be learned. A man has rights because he has duties. We carry within ourselves an imperious teacher called Conscience which tells us that it is not right for us to do all the things we might do or to satisfy all our whims and desires and appetites. A life of mere self-indulgence would place a man on a lower level than the animals. One of the purposes of society is to give us the opportunity to make the best of ourselves and of our powers of body, mind and soul. This "making the best of ourselves" cannot be accomplished unless we have life and the means of life, and not merely of life, but of *good life*. The means to good life are physical things like food, intellectual things like education, and spiritual things like religion. Because Nature imposes on every man the duty of living a human and not a merely animal life, every man has the right to the means of good life, and all other men have the duty of respecting those rights.

Right distinguished from Might

We have spoken of the authority of government. This must be distinguished from the power of government. Authority depends upon reason and justice, but power may exist apart from justice. Sometimes, just governments have been overborne by rebels, and at other times unjust governments have exercised power tyrannously. Authority is moral and power is physical. Our aim as citizens must be to make authority and power always go together in the government of our country.

Obedience to lawful government, loyalty to the State, are admirable virtues, but let us always remember that the State exists for man and not man for the State, and that every individual has sacred rights as a human being which no State can take from him. It does not matter what be the form of the State, whether it be a monarchy or an aristocracy or a democracy—if it makes laws against the natural human rights of its citizens it acts not with moral authority, but with the brute force of tyranny.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What was the history of Magna Carta?*
2. *There are no rights without duties. Prove this statement.*
3. *Can the State be unjust to individuals?*

Chapter Six

THE KING THE HEAD OF THE NATION AND EMPIRE

Kingship in Early Days

ENGLAND, Scotland and Wales are now one kingdom, but time was when even England itself consisted of no less than seven kingdoms. National unity was a slow growth, and it was made possible because people of different tribes and races could understand the idea of being united under the rule of one King before they could be fused as one nation.

Among the duties performed by the King in early days was that of being leader in war, like King Alfred fighting personally against the Danes. Men spoke of "the King's peace" because they looked to the King to keep the country free from foreign invaders and from the rapine and disorder of rebels, robbers and other lawless men. The King was the Lawgiver, though in enacting laws he took counsel of wise men even before the days of Parliament. In Saxon times the King had his counsellors in the Witanagemote. The King was the judge of those accused of crime and he also judged disputes between his subjects. The King heard some cases in person, and to hear others he appointed judges, but whether he judged in person or by deputy it was the "King's justice" that was administered.

All Government is in the King's Name

There is as much difference between the simple government of the days of King Alfred and the vast and complicated organization of the State to-day as between a small rowing-boat and a great battleship. But even to-day all acts of government and officers and representatives of the State are regarded as the acts and representatives of His Majesty the King. The Army and Navy are the Forces of the Crown. The King is Commander-in-Chief of them all. It is the King who declares war and makes treaties with foreign powers. All military and naval officers hold the King's commission. The first words of every Act of Parliament are "Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty." The Judges are His Majesty's Judges and Cabinet Ministers are the King's Ministers.

These titles show the part that the King has played in the government of the nation throughout its history. The King's powers have greatly changed and at the present day the responsibility for the making of laws and the administration of justice and appointments to offices of State rests not with the King but with Ministers and Parliament. However, the King is still Head of the Nation and does a great deal not only to symbolize but to make effective the unity of the nation.

The Centre of Imperial Unity

Moreover, the King is Head of the whole British Empire and he represents imperial as well as national unity. There are the self-governing Dominions : Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State. The parliaments and courts of justice and military forces in the Dominions have the same constitutional relation to the King as in Great Britain. The King is Emperor of India with its immense populations and he is King also of the other parts of the Empire called Crown Colonies. The British Empire comprises one-fourth of the habitable area of the globe.

There are many parliaments in the Empire, but these are frequently changing. There is only one King and he remains on the Throne from his accession until his death. In his person there is visibly and permanently represented the headship of the Nation and Empire, the headship which shows forth its unity. The distant parts of the Empire are visited by members of the Royal Family ; this was done particularly by the present King, George VI, before he ascended the Throne, when His Majesty was Duke of York ; such visits help to bind more closely the ties of affection and understanding which unite the various peoples and countries within the Empire. When rulers

from the Overseas Empire and foreign nations visit the capital of Britain they are received with due ceremony by the King as Head of the Nation and Empire.

The King's Great Influence

The King is in constant touch with the members of the Governments all through the Empire, and by his exalted position, independent of party, and his long and wide experience he is able to exercise a profound influence on public affairs. The King is a constitutional monarch, which means that he governs not according to his own opinions but according to the laws of the realm, the advice of his Ministers and the will of his people. The millions of His Majesty's subjects feel a reverent and enthusiastic loyalty to the Throne, a feeling which is rooted in the experience through hundreds of years of the supreme importance of the King in symbolizing and securing by his visible Headship the unity and continuity of the Nation.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What are the King's powers?*
2. *What are the purposes of Royal visits to parts of the Empire Overseas?*
3. *Show the importance of the King being above political parties.*

Chapter Seven

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

What Parliamentary Government Means

THE King is the Head of the Nation and nothing can become law without receiving the Royal Assent, but His Majesty does not refuse assent to laws which have been passed by the two Houses of Parliament, Lords and Commons. No laws are enacted by the King which have not been passed by Parliament, so that this country is under a parliamentary system of government. The parliamentary system has been adopted by other leading nations of the world, but it was first developed in this country and the Parliament which has had its seat in Westminster for many hundreds of years is justly called "the Mother of Parliaments" the world over.

The Evolution of Parliament

The Parliament of Great Britain consists of two Houses, the Lords and the Commons. It has reached its present form only after a long period of change and growth and doubtless it may be still further modified in the future as needs arise. In Saxon times there was the Witanagemote, the Moot, or Meeting, of the Wise, which advised the King on the government of the kingdom. After the Norman Conquest there was a similar body called the Great Council. These Saxon and

Norman councils were composed of the richest and most powerful men and they did not represent the nation at large. Moreover, they might be and often were ignored by Kings who were determined to have their own way.

One of the promises that the King was forced to make in Magna Carta of 1215 was that he would not levy unusual taxes without the common counsel of the realm. This was a check on the power of the King, but the check was exercised by the great barons and prelates, not by representatives of the "commons," that is to say, the ordinary people of the country who did not belong to the privileged ranks of nobility and clergy.

Representative Parliaments

Fifty years after Magna Carta a step was taken towards a representative system. Simon de Montfort, in his struggle against the misgovernment of Henry III., forced the King to summon an assembly, or parliament, to which every town sent representatives of its own choice.

Another thirty years passed and in 1295 there was the "Model Parliament" of King Edward I. which settled the type of all future parliaments. The King summoned to this Parliament the bishops and the great lords. He also caused two knights to be selected from each county and two citizens from each town, these latter to be chosen by their fellow-citizens.

When this Parliament assembled at Westminster it divided, by common agreement, into two parts or Houses. The bishops and lords sat together as one House and the knights and citizens sat together as another House. Thus we got what were called the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The lords were mainly hereditary peers as they are to this day, whilst the House of Commons has perfected the representative and elective character which it had to some extent at its very beginning.

The Control of Taxation

At first the principal business of Parliament was to make grants of money to the King, thus putting a stop to arbitrary demands. Each House began by making separate grants, the Lords granting one amount and the Commons another. This was soon changed into a single grant covering both Houses. The Commons represented the greater number of people and the greatest amount paid in taxation, and the Commons therefore claimed the chief power in determining what money was to be granted to the King. A formula was adopted as early as 1395 to the effect that the grant was made by the Commons with the assent of the Lords. This formula shows that "the power of the purse," which means so much in government, already rested chiefly with the Commons. At this early period also the great constitutional

principle had been established that the King could impose no direct taxes without the consent of Parliament, nor could he impose any indirect taxes other than those recognized in Magna Carta of 1215.

At the present day we have reached a stage when Parliament is the supreme authority in making laws and when the elected House of Commons has far more power than the hereditary House of Lords not only in regard to taxes but in all departments of government. The House of Commons has also become representative of the people in a far wider sense than ever before. In former times the right of voting for the election of a Member of Parliament was restricted to a comparatively small section of the people, but it is now granted to almost every grown-up citizen.

Parliament Open to all Classes

Another change that has come about is that it is very much easier for men and women of all classes to become Members of Parliament. There are many working-men and some working-women who are Members of the House of Commons. Coal-miners and engine-drivers, blacksmiths and navvies, clerks and shop assistants, now sit in the Parliament at Westminster, and they have shown that they can maintain its best traditions. There never was a time when Parliament had greater tasks to perform than to-day, or when it better

deserved that people who enjoy British citizenship should take an interest in its proceedings and endeavour to ensure that the best men and women are elected to Parliament. A boy or girl may honourably have the ambition one day to serve his or her country in Parliament.

Most of us will have seen, if not the actual buildings at least pictures of the Houses of Parliament standing as they do by the River Thames close by Westminster Abbey. Many who read this book will be able to visit the Palace of Westminster, for such is the name of the building containing the Houses of Parliament. Visitors can enter the House of Lords and see the Throne from which the King delivers his Speech at the beginning of every Session of Parliament. They can walk through corridors with paintings representing famous scenes in the history of Parliament, and they can see statues of the great men who have been leaders of Parliament in the past. The visitor will see the House of Commons and the Speaker's Chair, to which members of all parties make their bow in token of respect for the authority of the House of Commons itself, which is greater than all parties. If a visitor is fortunate he may secure admission to the House of Commons when a debate is in progress and, whoever be the debaters for the occasion, the visitor will not be able to sit in the House of Commons without his mind travelling back to the great men of the past

who have made the Parliament of Britain "the Mother of Parliaments" for all the world.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How is Parliament to-day different from Parliaments of earlier centuries?*
2. *Why is the "power of the purse" important to the House of Commons?*
3. *What was the history of Simon de Montfort?*

Chapter Eight

THE KING'S MINISTERS AND THE CABINET

"Legislature" and "Executive"

THREE is a fable of some mice who tried to find a way of saving themselves from the cat and who held a meeting at which they decided that a bell should be placed round the cat's neck so that it would ring and give the mice warning of the cat's approach. But when it came to carrying out the decision of the meeting and putting a bell on the cat the poor mice were at a loss. The fable shows us that there is a difference between making laws and carrying them into effect. The first is useless without the second. Parliament is the body for making laws and it is called the "*Legislature*." The branch of government which puts the laws into effect is called the "*Executive*" in scientific language, but in everyday speech we speak of the executive branch simply as "*the Government*."

There is a law which says that children must attend school and that they must have schools provided for them. When the law is made there must be some authority to build the schools, to engage the teachers, and to employ attendance officers, for without these the law would not be effective, it would be a dead letter. Moreover, school buildings have to be paid for and teachers

and attendance officers require salaries. The money is obtained by taxes and there have to be tax collectors. When people disobey the law the police are needed to bring them to trial, and for some who break the law it is necessary to have prisons.

We thus see that the passing of a law by Parliament is only one part of government. There is no need for Parliament to be sitting every day, and indeed Parliament does not sit at all during some months of the year, but the *executive* work of government can never stop for a single day.

Who are the Executive ?

There is a sense in which we can say that all those engaged in government service from the Prime Minister down to the village policeman compose the Executive. In a narrower sense the word is used for those Ministers of the Crown who are at the head of the different Government Departments and who are responsible to Parliament for the way in which the laws of the country are put into effect.

Let us refer again to the law about schools to illustrate the working of executive government. One member of the Government is appointed specially to deal with schools and he is called the Minister of Education. The Minister of Education has to see that in every part of the country there is a school available for the children of the

locality and that it has a staff of properly qualified teachers. He lays down regulations about the subjects to be taught in different kinds of schools, and he appoints inspectors to visit the schools and report to him on how they are being conducted. Of course, the Minister cannot do everything personally, but he is assisted by a large staff of civil servants in what is called the Department of the Board of Education. If anything is wrong with schools the Minister of Education tries to put it right, for he himself must answer to Parliament for all the laws about education being properly carried out.

How the Work of Government is Divided

The Minister of Education does not collect the money required for schools. The raising of money is the business of another Minister called the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is assisted by a Department called the Treasury. Parliament makes laws as to what taxes shall be imposed and these laws are put into effect by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has revenue officers all over the country.

When laws are broken the police are required. Police and prisons and much else that is necessary for the enforcement of law are under still another Minister called the Home Secretary, whose department is the Home Office. He gets his name because he is the Secretary of State for Home

Affairs as distinguished from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

We have seen how the different Ministers have divided the work of government, but they depend on each other. The Education Minister depends on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the provision of money and the Chancellor of the Exchequer depends on the Home Secretary for an efficient police system able to deal when necessary with those who wilfully default in the payment of taxes.

The Principal Ministers

The chief Minister of the Crown is the Prime Minister. He chooses the other Ministers for their posts and he co-ordinates and supervises the work of all of them. The other most important Ministers are the Lord Chancellor, who is the chief legal adviser of the Government, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who deals with finance, the Secretaries of State respectively for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Dominions and Colonies, War, India, Scotland, and Air. There are also the First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, the Ministers of Education, Health, Agriculture and Fisheries, and Labour. The particular duties of each Minister are partly indicated by their titles. The Secretary for War has charge of the Army and the First Lord of the Admiralty is responsible for the Navy.

The Cabinet System and Ministerial Responsibility

The body to which all Ministers are responsible is Parliament. A Minister must resign office if there is a vote against him in Parliament. It is in this way that the actions of "the Government," using that word to mean the Executive, are brought under the control of the representatives of the people.

The principal Ministers of the Crown form what is called the Cabinet. This is the body which does the main work of government, for it makes the most important decisions, subject to the approval of Parliament, both of a legislative and executive character. Thus the Cabinet decides what new laws should be submitted to Parliament, what should be the policy of this country towards other countries, what treaties should be made and, if the terrible need arises, when war should be declared. Whatever the Cabinet decides is binding upon every Minister. He may have tried in the privacy of the Cabinet meeting to get a different decision, but unless he ceases to be a Minister by resigning his office he must uphold and carry out the Cabinet policy in every way. Similarly the Cabinet takes responsibility for the acts of each Minister. If one Minister receives an adverse vote in Parliament the whole Government resigns, so that the way is open for a new Government which will have the confidence of Parliament,

or at least of a majority of the House of Commons.

The Cabinet system ensures that unity in government which is necessary to make it effective, and it brings all the Ministers under the control of Parliament and thus indirectly under the control of the people of the country.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is the Legislature of Great Britain, and what does it do ?*
2. *What is the executive work of government ?*
3. *What is the "Cabinet system" ?*

Chapter Nine

THE COURTS OF JUSTICE

The "Judiciary"

WE have already made a clear distinction between two different powers of government, first the *Legislature*, or Parliament, which makes laws, and second, the *Executive*, or Ministers of the Crown, who put the laws into effect. There is still a third quite different power, that of giving judgment, which is exercised in the Courts of Justice. This third power is called the *Judiciary*.

The Rule of Law

Britons are proud of their country being under the Rule of Law. This means that the Government itself is under the law. In olden days it was established that the King must rule according to law, and to-day the same rule applies to the King's Ministers. Parliament may change the law, but as long as a law stands it must be obeyed by the Government as well as by the humblest citizen. Take, for example, the powers of arrest and imprisonment. There have been times and countries where the Government could arrest any man on the mere suspicion that he was dangerous, and it could keep that man for an indefinite period in prison without bringing him to trial and giving him an opportunity to answer charges against him. By the law of this country the power of

arrest held by the police is strictly limited, and an arrested person has a right to a speedy examination in public before a magistrate or judge. If a person is thought to be unlawfully kept in custody his representative can apply to the King's Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which means an order by the Court that the person must be brought before a judge who will decide whether he should be detained longer or released. In olden times the writ of *habeas corpus* was the remedy for those wrongly imprisoned by orders of the King himself.

A citizen may possibly suffer a wrong or an injury from the Government. The revenue officers may demand too much from him in taxation. But the revenue officers can compel a man to pay nothing without an order from a Court of Justice, and the Court only grants such an order as it thinks fair and right after hearing what both parties have to say on their own behalf.

Independence of the Judiciary

The "Rule of Law" means that the Judiciary must be independent of the Executive. The executive and the judicial powers of government have to be in different hands. The magistrates and judges are entirely separate from the police and the tax-collectors and all other executive agents of government, because it is the duty of the judges to maintain the law not only against private individuals but against the Government itself.

The judges have the important duty of *interpreting* the law, that is, of deciding exactly what it means. The Government has not this power of interpreting the law. It must accept the interpretation made in the Courts of Justice. If a Government thinks that a law, as interpreted by the Courts, is not a good law, its only remedy is to go to Parliament and try to get Parliament to change the law.

The Supreme Law of Nature

The Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, says that there is a law written in men's hearts. In other words, there is a Moral Law of Nature, which is the highest of all laws. The idea of the supremacy of law over government comes from the idea that governments are bound to observe natural justice. "Bracton, the great English jurist of the latter part of the thirteenth century, lays it down dogmatically that the King has two superiors, God and the law. . . . The supreme authority in the medieval state was the law, and it was supreme because it was taken to be the embodiment of justice."¹

The High Courts and Assizes

Subject to the Law of Nature, which is the law of God, the British legal system regards the King as the fount and origin of justice. All who

¹ A. J. Carlyle, in *Progress and History*.

maintain the peace and administer justice in the kingdom derive their commission from the Crown. There is a building in the Strand in London called the Royal Courts of Justice. They are the High Courts which alone have jurisdiction over all England to try every kind of case, small or great. The High Courts sit in London all through the year. At certain times of the year courts which are called the Assizes are held in other towns throughout the country. The Assizes are special local sittings of the High Court. The judges at the Assizes are judges of the High Courts in London, and Assizes are held in different places so that the more serious cases in each district can be tried before the judge of the High Court instead of all the persons concerned having to go to London.

The Lower Courts : Petty and Quarter Sessions

Besides the High Court there are various kinds of lower courts of justice. The least serious cases are dealt with in each locality by Justices of the Peace who are citizens entrusted with His Majesty's Commission of the Peace to perform, without payment, the public service of administering the law. In large towns such cases may be tried by a trained lawyer called a Stipendiary Magistrate. Sittings of such courts are called Petty Sessions. Some more serious cases are sent for trial to Quarter Sessions. The judges

at Quarter Sessions in counties are Justices of the Peace, but in boroughs the judge is a professional lawyer and is called the Recorder.

Trial by Jury

In all the more serious criminal charges and in some other cases also there is a *jury* as well as a judge to give trial. The jury consists of twelve ordinary citizens who listen to the evidence of witnesses, the speeches of counsel on the two sides, and the summing-up of the judge, and who decide on the facts in dispute. The jury bring in the verdict "guilty" or "not guilty," and the judge passes sentence accordingly.

The history of the system of trial by jury brings home to us the fact that the administration of justice is a matter in which all citizens are associated and is not simply a business for police and lawyers. In early times, when nearly all people lived in small villages, the people themselves were the prosecutors and the judges. A man was tried by his neighbours, for in those days it was possible for a neighbourhood to know all about a man. The jury or "sworn men" gave evidence as well as judgment. In course of time it became necessary to distinguish between those who had evidence to give as witnesses and those who were to judge the evidence, and thus came the separation of witnesses from jury.

A relic of the time when the jury were the

prosecutors exists to-day in the "Grand Jury" of Justice of the Peace who at Assizes must "find a true bill," that is to say, must swear there is sufficient evidence to warrant a trial, before a prisoner can be brought before the King's Judge.

"Criminal" and "Civil" Cases

If you were at an Assize Court you would sometimes see the judge wearing a scarlet gown and at other times a black gown. Scarlet is worn for a *criminal* trial where a person is accused of having broken the law of the country as by murder or theft. Black is worn at *civil* trials which are concerned with disputes between private persons, as when one sues another for debt, or a passenger claims damages against a railway company for injuries received in an accident, or when there is a question as to who is the lawful heir under a will. The purpose of a criminal trial is to punish offences against the public law of the land, while a civil trial is concerned with the righting of wrongs done to private persons.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How is the Government subject to the Law?*
2. *What are Assizes, and why are they held?*
3. *What are the functions of a jury?*

Chapter Ten

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

National and Local Authorities

BRITAIN is not simply one great country with no difference between any of its parts ; it is made up of counties, towns and villages, and while there is the *Central Government* in London for the whole country, each county, town and village is also under its own *Local Government*. There are many public matters which are better dealt with by a local authority than a national authority, for people are more interested in their own neighbourhood than in distant places, they know their own conditions better than those of places far away, and in local matters a local authority is more likely than a central authority to act according to the wishes of the people concerned.

The ideal of democracy, government of the people, by the people, for the people, is likely to be most nearly attained where there is a large degree of local government. The British people first learned the habits of democratic government in their local institutions. In Saxon times there was a vigorous system of local government. The village, called a township, had its own governing assembly in which every freeman took part. The township sent representatives to the county meeting, called the shire-moot, presided over by the shire-reeve, or sheriff.

"The Cradle of our Liberties"

In the Norman reigns the people had to struggle hard to retain their rights of local self-government. "As the feudal system took root, and the land was cut up into *manors*, there was much danger that all local government would pass into the hands of the lord and his steward. But the secular priest fought for the liberties of the poor against the territorial magnate. The township merged in the parish ; and the parish meeting, over which the parish priest presided, was in fact the cradle in which all our liberties were nursed."¹

County and Borough

When a village grew into a town it wanted a larger measure of self-government. It wanted to be free from the rule, not only of the lord of the manor but of the sheriff of the county in which it was situated. It wished to obtain a charter raising it to the rank of a *Borough* so that it could have its own elected council, its own magistrates and courts, and levy its own taxes. London gave the lead to other towns in obtaining charters of self-government. Magna Carta in 1215 guaranteed to London the right of electing its own mayor.

At the present day many hundreds of towns and cities are boroughs and have a system of local

¹ W. Blake Odgers, in *Local Government*.

government different from that of the county in which they are situated. The governing body of a borough is a Council consisting of Mayor, aldermen and councillors. The councillors are elected by the burgesses or citizens, the aldermen are elected by the councillors, and the Mayor is elected by aldermen and councillors together.

All places outside of boroughs form part of a *County* for purposes of local government, and the county is divided into districts, and the districts are further divided into parishes. The governing body of a county is the county council, and there are also district councils and parish councils, all being elected by the people who live and pay rates in the county, district and parish as the case may be.

What Local Authorities Do

All good citizens must take a keen interest in the local government of their village, town or county, for the work of local authorities is quite as important as that of the Central Government in London.

You have only to reflect on the things you are seeing and using every moment of the day to realize how much the health, safety, comfort, enjoyment and progress of you and your fellow-citizens depend on what is done by local government.

The house you live in is possibly a Council house, the water you use for drinking and washing

is supplied by the local authority ; in many cases the same authority supplies your gas and electricity. The streets and roads along which you walk are made by the local authority. Under the street are the sewers to take away from houses the waste that would otherwise cause an intolerable nuisance. Refuse is taken from private houses and the streets are cleaned and lighted by the local authority.

Your school, if it is a Council school, is built by the local authority, and if it is a " non-provided " school the books and equipment and teachers are all paid for by the local authority. After school hours you probably play games on some open space provided by the local authority. You may borrow books from a public library or visit a public museum or art gallery. Occasionally you may go to public swimming baths. You may ride in public trams and buses.

If you are seriously ill you may go to a hospital receiving a large part of its funds from the local authority. Perhaps your mother takes your baby brother or sister to the Infant Welfare Clinic set up by the local authority. Your health is safeguarded against infectious diseases by the local authority, which causes infected persons to be taken to a hospital and infected clothing to be burned and houses disinfected. Your safety is provided for by police and fire brigades under a local authority.

The Penalty for Bad Local Government

These are only a few of the services performed on behalf of citizens by those in charge of local government. They may be performed well or ill, economically or extravagantly. In a single year the amount of money received from all sources by local authorities in England and Wales amounts to something like £400,000,000, which is about 4s. per week for every man, woman and child. All this money comes out of the pockets of the people. If it is not paid directly as rates or taxes it is included in rent and prices.

It is a bad form of economy to save money by neglecting to carry out beneficial public services, but if too much money is spent and rates mount too high they go beyond the capacity of people to pay. In some districts high rates have caused businesses to be closed down, thus resulting in unemployment and distress. The penalty paid for bad local government may be a very heavy one, and when there is bad government the citizens themselves are generally to blame for not taking enough interest in public affairs to make sure that good men are elected to the local councils.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What are the local authorities exercising jurisdiction over the place where you live?*
2. *What are the differences between County and Borough?*
3. *Why is local government important?*

Chapter Eleven

VOTERS, ELECTIONS AND PARTIES

Government by the People

THE great principle of the British Constitution is that government should be according to the will of the people. The members of the House of Commons, which is the supreme legislative assembly, are chosen by the votes of all those citizens who are qualified to act as electors. The various Local Authorities like County Councils, Borough Councils, District Councils and Parish Councils are similarly based on popular election.

Local Elections

Elections for local councils take place at fixed periods. In Boroughs outside London there is an election at the beginning of every November when one-third of the members of the Council are elected for a period of three years. For all other local councils, County, District and Parish, as well as the Metropolitan Boroughs, elections are held only once in three years, when the whole council is elected for a period of three years. Aldermen have longer terms of office, but they are elected by the councillors and not by the ordinary voters.

Parliamentary Elections

At least once in every five years the country is given the opportunity of electing a new House of Commons. The law fixes this maximum term for the life of any Parliament so that at comparatively short intervals the people may be able to express their opinion on the way they have been governed, and may be able to choose different men to represent them if they so desire. It is not always, however, that a Parliament lasts for the full term of five years. A dissolution of Parliament often takes place earlier and a general election is held for a new Parliament.

All sorts of unexpected things may happen to cause an appeal to the people. The Government may desire to pass some very important new law on which the people had not indicated any opinion at the previous election, and though the majority of the House of Commons may be of the same mind as the Government it is felt that the country must be consulted. Sometimes a Government proposal is rejected, or an action of the Government is censured in the House of Commons. The matter in question may be something quite small, but if the House of Commons thus indicates loss of confidence in the Government the Prime Minister and Government must immediately place their resignations in the hands of the King. The King may then call upon

another leader to form a Government, but if no new Government carrying the support of a majority of the House of Commons is available the King dissolves Parliament so that a new House of Commons may be elected. The King acts upon the advice of the Prime Minister in calling another leader or in dissolving Parliament.

The Party System

The whole country is divided into electoral districts called constituencies for purposes of choosing Members of Parliament. Nearly all constituencies may return only one Member, but there are a few constituencies which return two Members. The candidates usually offer themselves to the electors as supporters of a well-known party, Conservative, Labour or Liberal. Each party has its own programme, that is to say, a list of proposals that it will try to put into effect if it is returned to power. There are sometimes candidates who describe themselves as Independents ; they are bound to no party and they have their own individual programme.

The advantage of the party candidate is that the elector knows that if he is returned he will have many other members of the same party working with him for the same programme and if his party gets a majority the programme may be put into effect. The independent candidate, if he is returned, can count on no support except his own

for his programme. He can only hope to be effective by voting with one of the established parties or joining with other Independents, which would be equivalent to forming a new party.

The party system has its disadvantages. A party programme has to be of such a nature that it will attract the votes of thousands and even millions of different electors. It is impossible for so many different people to be exactly in accord on all the public questions of the day. The programme has to be the result of compromise and bargaining. A proposal desired by one section is included though it is disliked by another section, and the section which has its preference gratified on one point has to pay the price by consenting to another point which it finds obnoxious. The party system has other grave drawbacks, but we have to make the best of it because we have not yet discovered a better.

Qualifications of Electors

The privilege of voting, that is, of having a voice in the selection of the rulers of the country, is now granted to almost every citizen, man and woman, over the age of twenty-one. To vote at an election your name must be on the voters' register and you are entitled to have your name on the register if you are of legal age and have resided for six months in one constituency or in a constituency immediately adjoining. While

"residence" is a sufficient qualification for a parliamentary vote there has to be "occupation" of some property for a local government vote. A young man living at home with his parents qualifies by "residence" for the parliamentary vote, but he is not an "occupier" and has not got the local government vote. But if there is in that house a lodger who pays rent for an unfurnished room the lodger is an "occupier" and has both the parliamentary and the local vote.

Queer points arise out of the laws relating to qualifications for voting because of recent years we have been changing the basis of the right to vote. The right used to be confined to owners of property, especially to owners of land, because it was thought that only those who had "a stake in the country" as owners of property should be trusted with such an important power as a voice in government. We have now practically abandoned the property basis of the right to vote and granted it to all British subjects of adult age. The future of our country depends on how the people use this privilege of citizenship. If it is used for selfish interests of party or class, or for trivial personal reasons, instead of with a regard for justice and the welfare of the whole nation, the result will be the corruption of government and the breakdown of the democratic system, possibly after frightful national calamities due to bad government have taken place. No people can

retain self-government unless they are morally worthy of it.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How is a Dissolution of Parliament brought about?*
2. *Is it a good thing to have political parties?*
3. *What are the qualifications for the parliamentary vote?*

Chapter Twelve

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A Quarter of the Whole World

“ **X****X** THAT should they know of England who **V****V** only England know ? ” This question comes in Rudyard Kipling’s poem *The English Flag*. Our English citizenship cannot be understood if we take account only of England or of the British Isles. Look at a globe or a map of the world and you will see that these islands are but tiny specks. Yet the people of these small islands have gained a quarter of the whole world for the British Empire.

Empire is not a possession that we can throw away or keep merely capriciously as a child might do with a toy Union Jack. England belongs to the Empire as much as the Empire belongs to England. Our standing with foreign nations, our powers of self-defence and the trade on which the millions of our people depend for their livelihood are all bound up with the maintenance of the Empire. The other parts of the Empire are in the same position. Their security and prosperity stand or fall with the Empire. The proof of this was given during the Great War, when, with one or two very special and small exceptions, there was no attempt to break away from the Empire, and on the contrary, every part of the Empire willingly sent its men to fight for the British cause.

Force not the Bond of Empire

In the next chapter we shall be studying the League of Nations. The British Empire is itself a league of nations held together by bonds of loyalty and common interest, not by force. Force has played a part in making the Empire, but not the chief part, and when extensions of the Empire have been the result of war it has in most cases been war not against the countries brought into the Empire but against foreign nations which were themselves trying to gain empires for themselves.

It is true that there are differences of opinion and disputes within the Empire just as there are disputes between one party and another, and one class and another, in this country, but this does not mean that any part of the Empire desires separation but only a change in the methods of government. The greatest Empire problem at the present time is set by India, where certain classes are in favour of the extreme demand for the Dominion status and form of government. It is not at all a demand for the separation of India from the Empire.

Two Great Principles

Such widespread loyalty to the Empire could not exist if there had not been experience of the

benefits of Empire connection and Empire rule. Britain has succeeded with her Empire because she has on the whole, despite some stains on her record, pursued a policy of justice, liberty and civilization. There are two great principles which Britain acknowledges as guiding her government of subject peoples. The first is that the primary aim must be the good of the natives of the country, whether it be Nigeria or the Sudan or Ceylon or any other colony. The other principle is that the natives should be entrusted with as much share in government as they are fitted for, and they should be trained to take an increasing share in government.

The Self-Governing Dominions

The overseas parts of the Empire are not all in the same stage of political progress. The highest stage is represented by the self-governing Dominions, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State. Broadly speaking, the Dominions enjoy self-government as completely as does Britain herself. The Dominions are not subject to the British Government though they acknowledge allegiance to the King. The principle has been established that Britain and the Dominions are all equal in status. Britain is, in fact, a Dominion with the rest, and no one Dominion has authority over any

other. Equal status does not, of course, mean equal size of wealth or power, or even equal influence and responsibilities. Britain has still the chief influence because she has the greatest responsibilities in regard to the defence of the Empire and the conduct of foreign policy. But as the other Dominions grow in population their influence and responsibilities will correspondingly grow.

Crown Colonies

Different degrees of self-government are found in those Empire lands called Crown Colonies that have not attained Dominion status. Southern Rhodesia has self-government except in certain matters regarding the treatment of the natives. Malta is fully self-governing in all internal affairs, but matters of Imperial concern are reserved to the Governor, who is appointed by the Crown. There are no other Colonies possessing *responsible government*, meaning a government, or executive, responsible to the Colony's legislature or representative assembly. Many of the Colonies have their legislative assemblies wholly or partly elected on a representative basis. The non-elected members of these assemblies are called *official* members and are chosen by the Government.

In some Colonies the official members, in others

the elected members are the majority in the representative assemblies. In all the assemblies the actions of the Government can be publicly debated, thus bringing it under the influence of public opinion. The amount of effective influence that the representative assembly can bring to bear on the Government of the Colony measures the advance that has been made towards full responsible government. The Crown Colonies are mostly in the tropics, where the great majority of the people are of the coloured races and have not yet reached the stage of fitness for responsible government.

The Special Case of India

India stands in a class by itself different from the Dominions and Colonies. It is a great country eleven times the size of the British Isles and with seven times the population. It has an ancient civilization of which its peoples are very proud. We say peoples, using the plural form, for India has never had national or political unity. What unity it now possesses it owes to British rule and British railways. It has always been a land of different governments and different races and of strongly opposed religions. One day India may become a self-governing Dominion and then it will have political unity, but it will owe that unity to its membership in the British Empire.

The Benefits of Empire

Economic civilization as well as good government has been spread through far-off countries by means of the British Empire. Mention has been made of the railways linking up the wide spaces of India. Canals and reservoirs have also been made by the British to irrigate thousands of square miles of what used to be desert and are now grain-growing lands supporting millions of people. Dams have been built to control the flow of the Nile with the same beneficial effects to the people in the Sudan and Egypt. The island of Hong Kong was almost waste land with only a small fishing population until the British took it over. It is now a magnificent city where a quarter of a million Chinese find a home and livelihood. The British rulers have combated the diseases as well as the famines to which tropical populations used to be helpless victims. Deadly fevers like malaria are being conquered by scientific research and medical services organized by the British.

In speaking of the good done by the British Empire we must admit that there have been occasions on which the native populations have been unjustly treated by white colonists greedy for gold and trade. But on the whole the British Empire has certainly been a force making for peace and progress in the world, and it is our responsibility as citizens to strive to make it

realize its highest aims for the welfare of the four hundred millions of people who live under the British Flag.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is meant by saying Britain is a Dominion?*
2. *How are Crown Colonies different from Dominions?*
3. *What is the good of the British Empire?*

Chapter Thirteen

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

“ Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said :
 This is my own, my native land.”

THE love of one's own country has been implanted by God in the human heart. Patriotism is a virtue which has inspired men and women to noble deeds all through history. During the Great War which the world still remembers so vividly there was no finer heroism shown than that of Nurse Edith Cavell, who was condemned to death by the Germans for helping Allied soldiers to escape from Belgium. “ I am glad to die for my country,” she said as she faced her executioners. She uttered other words still more sublime. “ Patriotism is not enough,” she said. “ We are to hate no one but to love all.”

“ Patriotism is not enough ”

Patriotism is not enough. We are to love our own country, but we are not to hate or despise other countries. The virtue of patriotism is not meant to divide the different nations by enmities, else it would be a vice. It is not only Britishers who love their native land. The Frenchman, the German and men of other nations have their patriotism also and we must like them the better for it. The true patriot, like Nurse Cavell, is ready if need be to die for his country. But this

does not mean that he must glory in war. War is a very great evil, only made justifiable by direst necessity, and the true patriot will try to avert war and if possible to abolish it altogether.

During the anguish of the last Great War, when millions of the best and bravest were slaughtered on the battlefields, the peoples of all nations, victors, vanquished and neutral, asked themselves if there was any way of avoiding such horrors in future. Wars arise because of quarrels between nations. One nation does something which another resists as a violation of its rights. There is an appeal to guns and bombs and poison gas because the dispute cannot be settled in any other way. And when any two nations fall to war it is almost certain that other nations will be forced to take one side or the other, and the war, under modern conditions, becomes a world war. The development of aeroplanes has made the bombing of cities from the air one of the chief features of warfare. No longer is the danger confined mainly to the combatant forces. The unarmed populations of our great towns are now exposed to bombardment from the air.

Arbitration instead of War

Asking themselves if there was any means of preventing war, men argued that within each State the quarrels of individuals and sections are not allowed to develop into appeals to force.

There is an appeal to law, and if any force has to be used it is used according to law and it is exercised not by the disputing parties but by properly constituted authorities. The question was asked whether the nations could not form a league among themselves and agree that if any dispute arose between them they would not settle it by the sword but would accept the judgment of an impartial tribunal.

The answer to this question was the formation of the League of Nations. With certain important exceptions, the most powerful nations in the world, as well as many of the weakest, joined the League. They entered into a *Covenant* pledging themselves that they would not resort to war, one against another, before attempting to settle their disputes by peaceful arbitration. Unfortunately there have been cases of the pledge being broken and the offenders escaping effective penalties or "sanctions." There have also been cases of important nations leaving the League because of disagreements. Hence the prestige of the League has been seriously diminished.

War Dangers Still Exist

The establishment of the League of Nations has done something to diminish the danger of war, but it has not removed the danger altogether. In the first place, some nations are still outside the League and are not bound by its pledges ; in the

second place, the members of the League are pledged to refer their disputes to arbitration before resorting to war, but they are not pledged to accept the award of the arbitrators, and they may reject the award and try to enforce their own claims by war ; in the third place, there is danger of nations breaking their covenant and declaring war in defiance of their express pledges.

The third danger is probably the greatest of all in the present state of the world. For long centuries *national* feeling has been strengthening among the peoples of different countries. There has been little growth as yet of *international* feeling. Something may occur to arouse the anger of one country against another. It wants instant vengeance and will not wait while an international tribunal takes the evidence and gives judgment. Perhaps the country may not be thinking of vengeance, but it may believe that it is in danger of attack and must strike early in self-defence. National feeling in such critical moments is apt to distort the judgment of the people affected.

A nation which, in the judgment of the tribunal of the League of Nations, begins an "aggressive" or unjust and unlawful war, has to be restrained and punished. The League therefore calls upon its members to fight the aggressor. One country is called upon to fight another with which it has no quarrel of its own and with which it may even

be in sympathy. Only when international feeling is more strongly developed than at present can we be confident that the nations will submit to the judgments of the League when they call for severe national sacrifice.

Organization and Work of the League

The most hopeful thing about the League of Nations is that it does not lie idle until it is called upon to deal with some sudden danger to the peace of the world. It is functioning every day as an international organization in a variety of ways. At its headquarters in Geneva it has a large staff of workers called the Secretariat, corresponding to our Civil Service. The Parliament of the League is the *Assembly* which meets every September, and at which all the nations, great or small, which are members of the League, are given equal rights of representation and voting. Another organ of the League is a smaller body called the *Council*, meeting four times a year. The larger nations are permanently represented on this body, while the smaller nations have representatives elected for certain terms.

The League has already many great achievements to its credit in helping to settle dangerous quarrels and in helping back to prosperity countries like Austria which were ruined by the war. What has been accomplished by the League since its foundation in 1919 makes us hopeful of its success

in the future. But it cannot be successful in its great object of preventing another World War unless the people of the different nations become more international in feeling, remembering the lesson taught by Nurse Cavell : "Patriotism is not enough. We are to hate no one but to love all."

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How may disputes be settled without appeals to force?*
2. *What is the League of Nations?*
3. *How can we help the League of Nations to prevent war?*

Chapter Fourteen

OUR TRADE AND LIVELIHOOD

The Magic Wand of Work

THE imagination is charmed by fairy stories in which by the wave of a wand a pumpkin is changed into a coach and four. Yet these tales of fairyland are not more wonderful than the facts of real life. There is a certain man who is a clerk. He sits all day on a high stool at a desk in an office and he does nothing but copy figures into a book and add them up. As a result of his close attention to this book, which is nothing but an ordinary ledger, clothes are made for him to wear, a house is built for him to live in, the house is furnished with tables and chairs, a meal is placed for him on the table, there are linoleums and carpets on the floors, a coal fire burns in the grate, there is a bed for him to sleep in, he has a newspaper delivered daily with the news of all the world. He is quite a poor man, this clerk, yet by sitting on his stool and writing the figures in a book, he has the power of bringing to him all the necessities of life.

Money and Exchange

Of course you will say that every worker has the same power as the clerk. Every worker gets money for his work and the money enables him as far as its value goes to buy the things he wants. Yet this power of working all the time at one

occupation, of getting money for the work, and of exchanging the money for the hundreds of different things we require, was not always possessed by man. Time was when a man who wanted clothing had to hunt a beast and slay it for its skin. If he wanted a house he had to fell trees and make himself a log cabin, or perhaps the best he could do was to make a hovel of dried mud. To get food it was no use adding up figures. The man had to hunt or fish or perhaps sow seed and gather the crops himself. He could, in short, get nothing except what he found or made or grew for himself. No man can be skilled at everything and the man who had to do everything for himself, be fisher, hunter, farmer, miller, baker, tanner, tailor, builder, furniture-maker, had to be content with very crude workmanship. And being limited to one spot on the earth's surface there were many things he could not get at all. Minerals, plants and animals that were not native to his neighbourhood were never available to him at all.

How different is your own position to-day ! You enjoy the products of the most distant parts of the earth. Your bread is probably made of flour from Canadian wheat, your butter may come from New Zealand, your tea from Ceylon, your sugar from Cuba, the cotton in your clothing from America, the wool from Australia. Your father provides all these things for the livelihood of his family and he does it by remaining in one occupa-

tion like the clerk. He may be a railwayman, engineer, insurance agent, miner, shopkeeper, commercial traveller, builder, printer, soldier, it matters not which. He works only at one thing, perhaps he taps the keys of a typewriter, but his work brings him and you your pots and pans, books and pictures, musical instruments and wireless sets, and your holidays at the seaside and country.

Trade means Exchange of Goods or Services

This transmutation of a single kind of work into the myriad things a man can buy is quite as wonderful, when you come to think of it, as turning a pumpkin into a carriage. The explanation is simple enough ; the world is organized for *trade*, that is to say, for the exchange of goods and services. We have referred to a time when every man had to provide for himself, or at least when the family, or clan, or small tribe, had to be entirely self-sufficient. The lives of all under such conditions could only be very poor and hard. Civilization and large populations were alike impossible.

Trade began in a small way in very early times, limited to a few kinds of goods and to neighbouring districts of one country. Never until quite modern times did trade grow to be the world-wide organization that it is to-day. In Britain we are

now dependent for the necessities of our daily life on the products of the most distant continents. The goods we import from overseas have to be paid for with goods or services of our own. We export steel rails to India, coal to South America, mining machinery to Nigeria, cotton cloth to China, woollen cloth to Germany, motor-cars to Australia, steam-engines to South Africa. All countries have come to be more or less dependent on each other for the supply of goods they need and, what is equally important, for customers who will buy the goods they have to sell.

The Words "Economic" and "Political"

We can express this by saying that the world has become in large measure one economic society. The word *economic* comes from a Greek word meaning the science of the household. The word *political* comes from another Greek word meaning the science of the State, or of government. A household is concerned with providing livelihood for its members as the State is concerned with government. In the preceding chapters of this book the subjects have been mainly political, being concerned with the Government and its functions of keeping the peace and preserving justice. We are now approaching questions called economic, because they deal with the way we get our living and supply our daily wants.

Britain's Dependence on Foreign Trade

We get our living by trade. When a number of persons are permanently acting together for a common purpose they are a society. The different countries of the world now act so much together for purposes of trade that we can truly say that the world has become one economic society. No other country has such a large foreign trade as Great Britain. To know this may be pleasing to our national pride, but it could be put in another way and said that no country is so dependent as Britain on foreign supplies and foreign markets. If we lose our foreign trade we cannot fall back to any compensating extent on home trade. If no foreigners would buy our coal we could not keep our miners employed getting coal which would all be burned in Great Britain. If we were unable to buy wheat from overseas we could not grow enough for our needs at home unless we grew it at a terrific cost compared with the price we now pay. It is therefore very necessary for Britain to hold her own in the world's markets, and she can only do this if her people prove good citizens and good workers.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How does trade add to human welfare?*
2. *Mention some of Britain's imports and exports.*
3. *What is the meaning of "Economic"?*

WORK AND WEALTH

THE human race lives under an inexorable law of labour. We read in the Book of *Genesis* that God laid upon man the necessity of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. The physical necessity of labour to gain our means of livelihood is only too well known to the mass of mankind, and experience teaches us that it is also a moral necessity : man's nature is such that it is corrupted by idleness and is purified and strengthened by honest labour under proper conditions.

Wealth, Utility and Exchange Value

The preceding chapter dealt with our trade and livelihood, and this brings us to the subject of wealth. All that is produced by labour, that is bought and sold in trade, and that we use as necessaries of life, or even as comforts or luxuries, is wealth. Wealth means the most frugal things, like a loaf of bread, as well as great riches. Everything which can be traded, that is, exchanged for some other thing, is wealth as the word is used in the science of economics, the elements of which we are now studying. It is obvious that nothing can be traded that has not some utility, that does not supply some human want, as food nourishes the body and a pair of boots protects the feet, and a pretty picture pleases the eye. There

are, indeed, some most useful things which cannot be traded or exchanged for the simple reason that everybody can get them for nothing. Sunshine and air, which are very useful things, are not merchandise. It is the fact that a thing requires labour or sacrifice to obtain it that gives it a value in exchange.

Moral Goods that are not Marketable

The word "wealth" is limited by some writers to those things which have a value in exchange, which can be bought or sold or bartered. The word does not then apply to free goods like air, to which all can freely help themselves and which can be obtained without labour or price. There are also other goods which cannot be traded, which have no price, but unfortunately this is not because they exist in unlimited quantities. Love, friendship, loyalty, faith are moral goods which satisfy our deepest needs and make for our highest happiness.

Whether we use the word "wealth" in a wide sense to include moral goods or in a narrow sense to include only exchangeable goods does not matter very much if we remember what are the higher goods. The purpose of life is more important than the means of life. The greatest of Teachers said : "A man's life doth not consist in the abundance of things that he possesseth. The

life is more than the meat, and the body is more than the raiment." The same truth is enforced by a modern writer in a famous passage : " There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings ; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."¹

Services and Material Goods

Even in the narrower sense of exchangeable goods wealth means personal services as well as material commodities. The doctor gives his patient advice as well as medicine to restore health, the advice is not less useful than the medicine, and it has to be paid for like the medicine so that there is every reason for calling it wealth. A book gives us pleasure in its reading and is certainly wealth : a lecture to which we listen also gives us pleasure and has the same reason to be reckoned as wealth though the lecture cannot be kept in permanent tangible form like the book. A picture is wealth, and so is a song, for the pleasure of looking at the one is comparable with that of listening to the other.

¹ Ruskin, *Unto This Last*.

The Production of Wealth

Generally speaking, all exchangeable wealth is produced by applying labour to the gifts of Nature. The word production needs our attention. We have no difficulty in admitting that the farmer produces wheat and the builder produces houses and the miner produces coal. The farmer, the builder and the miner are evidently producers. But what does the engine-driver on a railway produce ! Is a transport worker a producer ? It may be said that he produces nothing, but only moves other men's products from place to place. Yet no material goods are produced by labour in the sense of creating them. All that labour can do is to change their form and place. The miner brings coal from the bowels of the earth to the pithead. The transport worker takes the coal from the pithead to the householder's cellar. Both the miner and the transport worker have only moved the coal and it is unsatisfactory to describe the one's work and not the other's as productive. It is more reasonable to describe all work as productive if it is useful, if it helps to satisfy human wants.

It is not necessary to be a maker or mover of material goods to be a producer. Those who render useful personal services are equally productive. The doctor who gives good advice is a producer of health ; the lecturer and the singer

produce pleasure as great as that given by any material goods which can be bought ; the teacher educates the minds of his pupils, and this is to produce wealth more desirable than gold ; the minister of religion teaches us the final purpose of life and supplies the needs of our spiritual nature, his work cannot be counted less productive than those who satisfy only our bodies ; the statesman's labours result in good government on which our happiness and prosperity so much depend : the statesman undoubtedly produces something very useful. There are many forms and kinds of wealth we all enjoy, and many forms and kinds of work by which men may serve themselves and their fellows.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Give examples of different kinds of wealth.*
2. *Give examples of different kinds of production.*
3. *What is the difference between utility and exchange-value ?*

Chapter Sixteen

THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

WE have seen that the system of trade upon which we all depend for our livelihood means that instead of each man or each family or each country being self-sufficing and independent there is a division of occupations. One man is a farmer, while another is a builder ; one country grows cotton, while another makes it into cloth. One of the greatest writers on this subject of economics about which we are now learning was Adam Smith, who was born more than two hundred years ago. He wrote a celebrated book entitled *The Wealth of Nations* and the first words of the first chapter were as follows : " The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour."

The Example of Pin-Making

Adam Smith gave an example of the division of labour which we may use ourselves because it is so striking and simple, though it belongs to an old-fashioned industry which has now been utterly changed by the introduction of machinery, and there is even more division of labour with machinery than in the old days of hand labour. Adam Smith took a small article in common use, a

pin. A man not used to making pins could scarce make one in a day. As the trade was organized in Adam Smith's time one man in a pin factory drew out the wire, another straightened it, a third cut it, a fourth pointed it, a fifth would grind it at the top for receiving its head, the making of the head itself required two or three distinct operations, to put on the head was another business, and to whiten the pins and put them in rows on paper were still others. The whole of one man's labour was devoted to making the tenth part of a pin. But ten men could make forty-eight thousand pins in a day, so that each man really made a tenth of forty-eight thousand pins, and could therefore be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. This great efficiency of the pin-makers was due to the saving of time and increase of skill at their particular operations resulting from the division of labour.

Specialization and Co-operation

The two great features to be noticed in the division of labour is that there is *specialization* by the individual worker on a particular task and there is *co-operation* between the various workers for their common purpose.

Trade between countries means that there is international division of labour, with national specialization and international co-operation. Sometimes the reason for buying goods from a

foreign country is that we could not possibly produce them in our own land. A great many things, however, that we buy from abroad could be produced at home. Adam Smith remarked : " By means of glasses, hotbeds and hot walls, very good grapes could be raised in Scotland, and very good wine could be made from them." Why, then, does not Scotland make wine from Scottish-grown grapes ? Adam Smith gives the answer : because the cost would be thirty times as great as that of importing equally good wine from France, where with its warm climate the vine grows in the open and there is no need of glasses and hotbeds and hot walls. It is more economic for Scotland to devote her labour and resources to the growing of oats and other cereals for which her climate is more favourable.

Advantages of Division of Labour

The division of labour would be advantageous to production even if every individual worker was exactly the same in natural capacity, for specialization would lead to increased skill. But still more advantageous is specialization from the fact that men differ greatly in natural capacity. Some men are fitted for intellectual, others for manual work. To take a man of high intelligence and education and possibly poor physique and force him to spend all his time ploughing the fields would be as wasteful as growing grapes in Scotland. And to

set a dull, ignorant man to design an ocean liner or to manage a great business would be as ridiculous as to expect a horse to play the piano.

There are not only different forms but different kinds, or qualities, of labour. Baking and brewing, bricklaying and plastering, engine-driving and motor-driving, may be considered as different forms of labour. One man may be able to apply himself to any of them and be able to attain an equal degree of proficiency in whichever he should choose. But there are differences of skilled labour and unskilled, brain labour and hand labour, which have to be taken into account. There are some men who would never be fitted for certain kinds of work, as many a proverb bears witness : "A square peg will not fill a round hole" and "You cannot make a silk purse of a sow's ear." It is necessary not only to have a division and specialization of labour but to have the right men in the right places, to have workers specializing on the work for which they are best fitted.

Variety of Human Gifts and Social Functions

The natural differences in kinds of labour mean that members of one society working co-operatively together have different qualifications, different positions and different responsibilities. We may legitimately strive to better our individual positions, and it is praiseworthy to make ourselves

fitted for a higher position by improving ourselves in skill and knowledge and character. It would be wrong, however, to rebel against the necessary subordination that must prevail in industry as in other activities of human life. The social body is as the physical body, with different members but all having functions in the life of the whole. St. Paul, in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of his First Epistle to the Corinthians teaches this lesson with great eloquence. "If the whole body were the eye, where would be the hearing ? If the whole were hearing, where would be the smelling ? But now God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased Him. . . . And God indeed hath set some in the Church ; first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors ; after that miracles, then the graces of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues, interpretations of speeches."

The variety of gift and function which the Apostle describes in the Church exists also in civil society. The differences between individuals are often shown at school. Some are good at games and poor at lessons, some are good at certain lessons, perhaps of a literary character, but poor at mathematics. It is rare to find any who excel at everything. The differences at school foreshadow more marked differences in after-life, when a few will rise to positions of dignity and leadership, while the majority will lead

humbler but possibly not less happy or useful lives.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What are the advantages of the division of labour?*
2. *Give an example of division of labour with which you are acquainted.*
3. *Why does Britain buy from abroad certain goods she could make at home?*

Chapter Seventeen

CAPITAL AND CAPITALISTS

The Need of Looking Ahead

DAY by day men must work to produce the things they need, and day by day they are using up the wealth they have laboured to produce. Wealth, as we have learned, is the result of labour applied to the gifts of Nature. The farmer ploughs the land to make it fit to receive the seed which he sows in due season. The wheat grows from the seed, thanks to his labour, and to the soil and sun and rain which Nature provides. The wheat has to be harvested and threshed and milled into flour, which is baked into bread.

Men work each day for their daily bread, but what they eat to-day is the fruit of labour begun long ago, and the work they do to-day is to ensure supplies of bread in a comparatively distant future. Civilized man is not like an animal going searching for food when he feels hungry, consuming it as he finds it and starving when he fails to find it. Not that all animals are thus improvident. Instinct leads many of them to provide for the future, as you will have reflected if you have seen a squirrel burying nuts.

Man is guided by his reason in providing for his future. He looks months and years ahead. Think of the provision that has to be made that you may eat bread ! The work does not begin

with ploughing the field ; the plough itself had first to be made, and the seed which was sown had been saved from a previous year's harvest. For reaping and threshing the farmer has to have his implements ready made ; he must have barns in which to store his corn, and there must be a mill for grinding it into flour and an oven for baking it into bread.

The Meaning of Capital

All this shows that man has to labour to produce not only the things he wishes to consume but other things which assist him to produce. These things, tools and stock and buildings and machinery, which are used in the course of production, are called *capital*. Capital, like other wealth, is the result of labour, but it is the result of something else also, namely, *saving*. If men consumed as fast as they produced, spent as soon as they earned, they would have nothing to assist them in producing further wealth, they would be without capital, their powers of production would be extremely limited, they would be miserably poor at the best, and in most cases they could not live at all.

We have taken a very simple example of capital in the case of the farmer. The most backward savages are careful to accumulate some small capital, and in a civilized industrial society like that of Britain most of the wealth existing at any

particular time is capital wealth. The food eaten to-day may have been produced with the aid of capital invested fifty years ago. Capital worth millions of pounds may have been involved in bringing a loaf of bread to our tables. The flour, let us say, has been made from wheat grown in some far country like Western Canada and carried on a railway thousands of miles long, brought across the ocean in a great ship, and unloaded in one of the docks of London or Liverpool which themselves have taken years and cost fortunes to construct.

Capital Must Constantly Increase

Railways, ships, docks, warehouses, factories, offices, machinery, tools, vehicles and the roads they move on, all represent vast accumulations of capital and they are all necessary to the trade and livelihood of the population of this country. We can never, as a nation, afford to stop accumulating capital, for capital goods have to be replaced as they are used up, and our capital equipment constantly needs extension and improvement as well as replacement. Take the building of ships as an example. With the progress of science and invention it becomes possible to build ships of greater comfort and speed or with greater economy in operation. It is a costly matter to build an improved ship; a large up-to-date vessel may easily cost over a million pounds. Yet a ship-

owning firm has to have vessels of the best kind, or it will lose its trade to competitors. If all the shipowning firms of one country lagged behind, the trade would go to foreign competitors.

Keeping Pace with Progress

Improvement in one direction generally demands improvement in another. The more valuable a ship is the more imperative it becomes to get the utmost use out of it. A ship may have a potential earning power of £200 a day. The time spent by a ship in dock, loading and unloading, is an important consideration. This time depends largely on the efficiency of the dock equipment. If the dock is inefficient and the loading and unloading unduly slow there is a loss of earning power to every ship using that dock. If it is possible to use another port where the work is done more quickly, ships will be sent to the better port. Sometimes the better port is a foreign port and trade is lost to this country. If no other port can be used for a particular cargo the loss to the earning power of the ship has to be made good by charging higher freight rates for the merchandise in question. The higher cost is added to the price of the goods, and they may be made too dear to be sold. We thus see how vital it is that dock facilities be maintained in a high state of efficiency, and the port authorities must be prepared for large outlays of new capital.

What is true of ships and docks is true of mines and machines and factories. Failure to keep pace with progress causes not only loss of profits to the business men immediately concerned but loss of trade and employment to the masses of the people.

Owners and Users of Capital

The farmer using his plough and other implements is a case of a worker using his own capital. In our modern system, however, the bulk of capital in industry is not owned by its users. The railway-engine is not owned by the driver and a liner is not owned by the captain and crew. A railway and all its stock is owned by a company of shareholders who have practically nothing to do with the working or even the management of the railway. The shareholders have simply invested their money in the railway. They have provided the millions of pounds' worth of capital necessary for buying land, cutting tracks, laying rails, building stations, getting rolling stock and employing the thousands of men needed to work on a railway. The shares held by individual investors may be small or large, some may be £10 and others £10,000. Shareholders invest their money in the railway hoping that it will earn profits to be divided among them in proportion to their shares. The investment is not only a "tying-up" of money, removing it from their free disposal, it is

also a risking of the money, for the railway may fail to be profitable and in that case the shareholders have to bear the loss of their capital.

Nearly all large industrial enterprises nowadays seek to obtain the capital they need by inviting those who have money saved to take shares in them. The name "capitalist" applies specially to those who derive an income from capital which other men use in their work. The name can indeed be applied to those who work with their own capital like many farmers and small business men, but it has not quite the same significance in their case. The separation between the ownership and the operation of capital which is a feature of our modern industrial system gives rise to some serious social problems of which we shall learn later.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is Capital?*
2. *Why is new capital always needed?*
3. *What service does the capitalist perform to society?*

Chapter Eighteen

EMPLOYERS AND ENTERPRISE

Personal Qualities for Industrial Leadership

LOOKING at the world of industry around us we observe not only the division of trades, but a division between employers and employed. The latter work according to the instructions of the former and are paid wages for the work they do. We must now study the reasons for this division. In the first place, it is an example of the division of labour and has the advantages of other forms of industrial specialization and co-operation. An employer performs special functions and undertakes special responsibilities, and to be successful in his position he requires a special kind of ability which not all men possess.

Even before we launch out into the world to earn our own living we find from experience that some of us are fitted to be leaders and others to be followers. There are some who have natural gifts of initiative and enterprise. They see new things that can be done and they proceed to do them. When confronted with a new situation they decide on a line of action. If the action requires the help of other persons the natural leader can combine and direct their efforts, for he has the faculty of organization. Not all of us have these gifts of enterprise and leadership. We may be excellent at doing a definite piece of work, perhaps

very skilled and difficult work, but we follow a beaten track, we do not strike out a new path.

Employers with their own Capital

These differences of personal qualities have much to do with making some men employers and others employed. They have not everything to do with it, for we frequently meet with employers who are not personally endowed with the qualities that make for enterprise. They owe their position as employers to their advantage in being the owners of capital. The existence of the division between employers and employed is due primarily to the general reasons for the division of labour, but it is due also to the part which capital plays in industry.

The employment of capital has become as necessary as that of labour to provide for the livelihood of the world's population. The world requires an immense stock of capital which has every day to be replaced and increased. Capital is wealth used for further production instead of being used for direct consumption and enjoyment.

Profit the Reward of Enterprise

The use of wealth as capital in a business involves risking its loss. Businesses may prove unprofitable through bad management, misfortune, competition, or other causes. Broadly speaking, every investment of capital in a business is in

some degree an act of enterprise, a taking of initiative, an acceptance of risk. In the enterprise labour is employed for wages, but labour receives its wages, so long as the enterprise employs him, whether it succeeds or fails, and indeed the wages are paid daily, weekly or monthly, long before anything is produced that can be put upon the market. Wages have to be paid for the labour employed in building a house months before the house is ready for habitation, and even when the house is completed it may be months before a buyer is found, and if it be let instead of being sold it will be years before the rent received amounts to the outlay on the building.

The employed gets a fixed and immediate remuneration in the form of wages for his services ; the employer's remuneration, in the form of profit, is uncertain and may be distant. The employed's duty is to carry out the decisions of the employer for whom he has contracted to work. The employer has the anxious task of arriving at decisions as to how he will employ the capital and direct the labour at his command, knowing that if he makes mistaken decisions he must bear the loss.

Distinction Between Capitalist and Employer

An industrial employer necessarily has capital at his disposal, for he could not be an employer without being the owner, or at least the borrower,

of capital. The association between employers and capitalists is so close that they are often thought of as one and the same. When it is remembered, however, that the capitalists in great undertakings like the railways, employing thousands of men, are shareholders who take not the least part in management, we see that a distinction must be made between capitalist and employer. In a privately-owned railway the shareholders do take the risks of failure and as an investment in a business is in some degree an act of enterprise, the shareholders may be regarded in some sense as employers as well as capitalists. But in the case of a publicly-owned tramway system the employer is the public authority and the capital is provided by investors who are legally entitled to receive their interest and the return of their capital when it becomes due even though the tramways be run at a loss. In this case the capitalists cannot be regarded in any sense as employers.

Enterprise as Necessary as Capital and Labour

The point it is necessary for us to understand is that our economic system depends not only on capital and labour in the ordinary sense, but on something we call enterprise. Every business, large or small, requires a directing head to organize the different parts, to decide what shall be produced and in what quantities, what costs shall be incurred, what prices demanded. Often there

are new processes to be introduced and new markets opened up. Sometimes there are entirely new industries to be created. The present generation has witnessed the birth of what are now vast industries, such as cinemas, motors, artificial silk, gramophones and wireless.

In a time of rapid development the men of enterprise have their greatest opportunity and the ablest among such men are well called "Captains of Industry." It is not a fact that all employers are men of exceptional enterprise and powers of leadership. Many employers owe their position to their possession of capital, not their personal ability. Yet they benefit society by applying their capital to industry, and their personal abilities have to be of a fair standard, or they will fail in business and lose their capital. The knowledge that the loss will fall upon them is an incentive to give their best attention and judgment to the business in which they are engaged.

Opportunities for Ability

The man without capital is handicapped in his efforts to enter the ranks of employers, but if he has really marked qualities of enterprise he will win despite the handicap. In the great joint stock companies of the present day the functions of employers are carried out by directors, managers and other officers who initiate plans, organize the labour of others, make responsible decisions and

accept risks. Their remuneration is not a fixed wage but is made to depend on the results achieved.

These posts are open to men of initiative and enterprise who may possess no material capital. The value of these men to a business is so clearly recognized that they are not only paid very high salaries but they are made virtually dictators of the companies of which they are legally the servants. There are many instances of a brilliant man building up a flourishing business employing thousands of others, and when it has been deprived of his guiding hand and brain the business has fallen to pieces. The productiveness of capital and the efficiency of labour depend on good management. It is as important for a nation to have good management of its industries as it is to have good generalship in war.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What is the difference between capitalist and employer?*
2. *Why do we distinguish between enterprise and labour?*
3. *What sort of men deserve to be called "Captains of Industry?"*

Chapter Nineteen

CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION

CO-OPERATION means acting with and for others ; it is contrasted with acting solely by and for ourselves.

Competition means acting against others, trying to get something which others also want but which they cannot get if we succeed in our effort. Runners in a race are an example of competition; the aim of each runner is to beat the others, and one cannot win unless the others lose. A football team is an example of co-operation. Each player has his allotted place, forward or back, inside or outside, centre or wing, and the whole arrangement of the team is designed so that one player can support the others. The duty of the individual player is to help his side to win, not to gain individual points and glory for himself. A sportsman knows that selfish players who keep the ball when they ought to pass are a weakness to their side, and the most successful teams are those which are most perfect in their combination.

The members of one team are clearly co-operators, while opposing teams are competitors, for they are playing against each other, playing to get victory by the others' defeat. Yet sportsmen do not play only for the sake of victory, they play for the game, and in the game of football opponents are as necessary as supporters. Both teams are

truly co-operating in giving each other a game. We thus see that co-operation and competition are not always mutually exclusive, they are sometimes complements of each other.

All Trade is partly Co-operative

Co-operation and competition are powerful forces in the economic life of men, but here, unfortunately, they do not so often harmonize happily as in sport. All trade is in some measure co-operative. Every act of exchange is presumably for the benefit of the two parties. The native Cingalese working on a tea plantation is providing a beverage for the Lancashire mill girl who works in a weaving shed to supply the Cingalese with cloth. This is a measure of co-operation, though it is not to be regarded as conscious or deliberate co-operation. The Cingalese and the mill girl are probably actuated only by personal motives in their work. Their aim is to benefit themselves or their families and it is only incidentally that they benefit each other. We shall see later that there are examples of more conscious and deliberate co-operation, and the most admirable co-operation is that where there is a co-operative motive, a desire to seek our own good in that of others.

A buyer and seller are co-operators inasmuch as they benefit each other by the exchange, yet they may also be competitors. Though each must

expect to get an advantage, or there would be no deal, the advantage may be very unequally shared. The buyer gets the better of the bargain if the price may be considered low, while the seller is the chief gainer if the price is high. Employer and employed are co-operators because each gives what the other needs, wages on the one side and labour on the other. They are at the same time competitors if they are each trying to make wages low or high to suit their particular interest.

The All-Pervading Influence of Competition

We have seen how competition may exist between those whose relationship is essentially co-operative, as buyer and seller. A more obvious example of competition is that between sellers of the same kind of goods. Butcher competes with butcher, draper with draper, and one railway company with another. Workmen compete with each other for employment. There is not only competition between like and like, but between different kinds of things which serve a similar purpose. There is the competition between gas and electricity, railways and roads, coal and oil fuel. Competition goes even further : the theatre is a competitor with the cinema and the dancing hall. We may almost say that everything offered for sale is competing with everything else which appeals to those who have money

to spend. A certain degree of competition is inseparable from freedom of choice.

The Merits of Competition

Competition undoubtedly has many good results. It spurs the competitors to make their best efforts. When two grocers are competing for customers they are anxious to give good value and service, for the one who falls short of the other in these respects will lose trade. When customers have no option but to go to one shop they often have cause for bitter complaint and no effective remedy. Competition enables the best men and the best methods to prove they are the best : it is a constant stimulus to improvement, and the marvellous economic progress of the world during the nineteenth century was largely due to the system of free competition. Competition is a safeguard against abuses. We have spoken of the competition between buyer and seller, one wanting the price to be low, the other wanting it to be high. If there were only one seller and a number of buyers it is nearly certain that the price will be high. It is the existence of a number of competing sellers that ensures a reasonable price to the buyers.

The Defects of Competition

Against the merits of competition which we have set forth there are defects to be considered. Competition among workers for employment has not

infrequently led to wages being shamefully low, and to prevent this evil it has been necessary to limit competition by fixing minimum wages by the law or by combinations of the workers called trade unions. The prices charged to poor working people for the necessities of life were deemed so excessive in a Lancashire town in 1844 that a group of working-men arranged to supply themselves with the goods they had been accustomed to buy from shopkeepers. Thus started the system of co-operative stores which has spread all over Great Britain.

The main defect of competition is that it puts the weak too much under the power of the strong. If all men had approximately equal powers and opportunities the system of competition would be satisfactory, but such equality does not exist. The capitalist can beat down the worker in bargaining about wages, for the worker must accept employment or starve. There is no real equality between the capitalist and the worker, and to allow the conditions of employment to be settled by competitive bargaining would result in the oppression of the workers if the latter were not specially protected by trade unions or the law of the land.

What we have noted as the main defect of competition, the sacrifice of the weak to the strong, is so marked that the ultimate result is for competition to destroy itself. If there is fierce competition among rival traders in a particular place

the customers will get very good value for their money as long as the struggle lasts, but if it is pursued to the end it is likely to drive all except the strongest traders out of business until the survivors have the entire market to themselves : they then exercise a monopoly, and the customers begin to suffer.

Public Utility Services

Another defect of competition is that it often means duplication and overlapping which is wasteful. Suppose that instead of having a national postal system we had a number of competing postal companies. It would mean perhaps half-a-dozen postmen going at the same time to the same address to deliver letters instead of the whole delivery being made by one man. Take as another instance a tramway system : a town might conceivably allow competing tramway companies to operate in its streets. Different companies would lay their lines along different streets and there would be a number of competing routes from the same starting-points to the same destinations, which would be absurdly uneconomical. It is agreed as a matter of public policy that certain services should not be run on competitive lines. Examples of such services are gas, water, electricity, the Post Office, telegraphs, telephones, broadcasting, tramways, road-making, street lighting, street cleaning, sewerage and drainage.

Most of these non-competitive services are carried on by public authorities themselves, but in some cases, gas, electricity and tramway services are in the hands of private companies under the *regulation* of public authority. The services such companies must render and the prices they may charge are regulated by public authority. Regulation thus acts instead of competition as a safeguard of the public.

The Growth of Trusts

It is evident that both competition and the restriction of competition are needed for the healthy functioning of economic life. The proper limits of competition are a problem which our society has to solve, and every citizen should try to appreciate its many-sidedness. We are living at a time when profound changes are being witnessed in the economic system. The nineteenth century will ever be notable in history for the triumph of competition. In this twentieth century large industrial combinations, national and international in extent, have arisen, and are largely eliminating competition. Many industries are now dominated by great trusts. There is a well-founded fear amongst thoughtful people that such trusts may abuse their powers. Yet there is advocacy of the creation of such trusts in other industries. It appears that competition in the coal, cotton, and steel industries is proving

wasteful and even ruinous, and that these basic industries, on which so many people depend for their livelihood, can only be restored to prosperity if they are reorganized on a basis of combination instead of competition.

The Regulation of Competition and Monopoly

The solution of the problems has still to be found, but it must lie somewhere in the right use of *regulation*. Combinations, trusts, monopolies, whatever be the name by which they are known, cannot be allowed to act without check, or they will be tyrannical and extortionate. Competition is a good thing when it is properly regulated, and society may find it necessary to take steps to preserve a healthy amount of competition. The most important thing is that we should all have a more consciously and deliberately co-operative spirit ; we should seek our individual good in the good of our fellows ; and we should regard with abhorrence instead of admiration those who make themselves rich by a selfish use of their competitive or monopolistic powers.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Show where there is co-operation and competition in a game of cricket or hockey.*
2. *Do you think it is good to have competition in trade ?*
3. *What are the benefits and dangers arising from large monopolistic concerns ?*

Chapter Twenty

TRADE UNIONS

The Gild System of the Middle Ages

OUR modern industrial system with its machinery and large factories and masses of workers employed for wages has not always existed. There was an earlier system in which the industrial worker was a craftsman and usually worked with his own tools under his own roof, and he was very often his own master instead of being employed for wages. He was under a master while serving his apprenticeship and perhaps for a few years afterwards when he was called a journeyman and was paid wages, but in course of time he would become a master, working independently, and probably, though not necessarily, having apprentices and journeymen working with him and under him.

In those days there was little room for disputes between employers and employed. The employers were craftsmen themselves and the employed had no great difficulty in setting up as their own masters as soon as they had learned their trade. They did not need a lot of capital to start a business. There was nothing like the present-day division between a small class of capitalists and employers and a great mass of wage-earners.

The workers of each craft were organized in

societies called gilds. The purpose of the gild was to regulate the conduct of the craft, whether weaving, tanning, armour-making, or whatever it might be. The gilds determined the standards of workmanship which qualified a man to set up as a master craftsman ; they made rules about the numbers of apprentices to be admitted to the trade, about the wages of journeymen, about the hours to be worked and the prices and quality of goods. The gilds aimed to promote the interests of their own members but at the same time they recognized that they had responsibilities to the community ; the gild was responsible for ensuring that the trade was conducted in such a manner as to serve the common good.

Time came when the gilds decayed, partly because of their own faults, partly because of unfair treatment by the Government. The gilds had been co-operating with other public authorities in the regulation of economic life, to see that just wages were paid, honest work done, fair prices charged, standards of skill maintained, and technical education given. When the gilds were no longer effective the Government tried to perform these economic functions by its own power. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth laws were passed enforcing apprenticeship so as to maintain standards of trade skill, and power was given to magistrates to fix wages binding both

upon employers and employed. Before the time of Queen Elizabeth, and for long afterwards, the idea of leaving wages to be fixed simply by competition was never entertained. Everybody took for granted that some regulation was required in order to prevent injustice.

The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1820

During the second century after the reign of Queen Elizabeth this country experienced the great change known as the Industrial Revolution. As a result of various historical developments, especially new inventions, the machine began to do what had hitherto been done by the skilled craftsman. Production began to be transferred from the homes of the workers to the factories of capitalist employers. Women and children displaced men from employment. The workers found their wages were being beaten down though some of the employers were making large profits. The workers appealed to the laws which said that wages were to be fixed by Justices of the Peace and that only men who had served the legal apprenticeship could be employed in certain trades. Parliament took the view that these laws were out of date and they were repealed. The view that prevailed in Parliament at this time was that there should be "free competition," everybody should be free to take any employment offered, and wages should be settled entirely by

employers and employed without any outside interference.

Workers' Struggle for Right of Combination

The workers at once realized that, deprived of the help of the law, they were at the mercy of the employers in regard to wages unless they combined among themselves to insist on certain demands and to go on strike if necessary to enforce those demands. Here again they found Parliament against them. Laws were passed forbidding combinations, and strike-leaders were arrested and cruelly punished. The workers continued to struggle for the right to form trade unions and they gained a law in their favour in 1825. Since that time there have been many changes in the law regarding trade unions and the workers have occasionally suffered set-backs, but on the whole they have gained very complete liberty to form trade unions and to strike whenever they consider strike action necessary to improve their conditions of employment.

Collective Bargaining

A trade union is a union of wage-earners formed to get better terms from employers. Instead of individual bargaining between each worker and the employer as to what wages and other conditions of employment should be, there is *collective bargaining* by the union on behalf of all its members.

The Weapon of the Strike

If the union cannot get satisfactory terms by peaceful negotiation it orders a strike, that is to say, it instructs its members to cease work. An employer could dispense with individual workers who were dissatisfied with his terms, but it is a different matter when he is faced by a union which can cut off all his supplies of labour. Rather than have a strike, which means closing down his business for a long period, the employer often concedes terms which he would otherwise have refused.

It would not be true to suggest that no employer gives fair wages except under threat of a strike, or that the strike weapon is always used by the unions with justice and good sense. On the contrary, the strike weapon has been frequently and grievously abused. We must distinguish between trade unions and strikes. The history of modern industry shows that the trade unions have been necessary to protect the workers against oppressive employers. They have been and still are necessary to protect good employers against unfair competitors. For if one employer pays low wages he is able to undersell those employers who pay better wages. The good employer is therefore grateful to a trade union for enforcing proper standards of wages all round.

Long history and bitter experience have con-

vinced the workers that they need their unions to defend them against oppression. So deeply rooted is this feeling that the workers and their wives and families show the most intense loyalty to their unions, and in carrying on a strike they will endure privations comparable to a besieged garrison in war.

The Right and Wrong of Industrial Conflicts

Strikes are indeed to be regarded literally as war. The aim of a strike is to inflict so much loss on an employer, or to put him in fear of such loss, that he is forced to grant demands that he would not grant otherwise. The employer, on the other hand, looks to hunger among the strikers, forcing them to submit to his terms. Industrial stoppages brought about to settle disputes are variously called strikes and lock-outs, but there is not often any greater accuracy in using one name rather than the other. When the employers seem to have most responsibility for bringing about the stoppage the word "lock-out" is favoured, but this seems to carry with it the implication that when a stoppage is properly called a strike the chief blame rests upon the workers, and this is by no means always the case.

Every stoppage due to a dispute is a strike from one point of view and a lock-out from another. The important thing is not to choose one name or another but to know which party is right and which

wrong, or rather how much right and wrong are on the respective sides. It is the teaching of moralists that among the conditions required to make a war a just war are these four : the war must be for a just cause, there must be no other means by which justice can be secured, the good that may be achieved by the war must be great enough to outweigh the evil that is to be expected as an inevitable accompaniment, and there must be a reasonable prospect of the war being successful in its object of securing justice.

These four conditions are required to justify a strike or a lock-out. If employers and trade unions conscientiously thought of observing these conditions, very few of the strikes and lock-outs in our industrial history would have taken place. Whenever both parties have a genuine determination to preserve peace, means of avoiding war will be found no matter how great be the questions which divide them.

Arbitration versus Industrial War

Trade disputes which cannot be settled by negotiation between the parties concerned should be referred to an impartial arbitrator, both parties pledging themselves to accept his award. Many disputes are already settled by arbitration, and there is no reason why arbitration should not be invariably preferred to a strike or a lock-out. It is might and not right which wins in a strike or

lock-out, and even when the right side has might enough to win, the costs of the struggle are often greater than the gains of victory. Arbitrators are fallible and may sometimes give wrong decisions, but their mistakes are not likely to be nearly so serious as the blind destruction which has taken place by so many industrial stoppages.

The year 1926 saw the most disastrous industrial strife in all the history of Britain. For nine days there was a "general strike" of a great number of trade unions, and for eight months there was a stoppage of all coal-mining in the country. Many years must yet pass before the nation recovers from the weakening of its industrial position during that calamitous year. Since that time, fortunately, there have been very few stoppages, and the leading representatives of Labour and Capital were induced to come together in conference for the purpose of discussing schemes to ensure industrial peace in the future.

A New Era of Industrial Co-operation

The attainment of industrial peace may come from such co-operation between employers' unions and the trade unions of the workers as will enable them to perform in our vastly complicated modern society the functions that were performed in an earlier and simpler society by the gilds. Trade unions arose because of the separation between labour and capital which became so marked at the

time of the Industrial Revolution. The functions of the trade unions were to struggle for the interests of the workers against the employers. The old gilds had no such separation of labour and capital to contend with. The gilds united and represented all those engaged in an industry, employers and employed, and they regulated the affairs of the industry according to conceptions of common interest and of justice.

The trade unions and the employers' associations may co-operate for the regulation of present-day industry. The trade unions, in return for thus sharing in industrial control, will accept responsibility for promoting the efficiency of industry. They will no longer limit their duties to the maintenance of the interests of the wage-earners as against the employers. If so much of industrial co-operation is achieved we may be confident that industrial peace will come with it.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Why were medieval gilds different from modern trade unions ?*
2. *How does a trade union assist its members ?*
3. *What are your views on strikes ?*

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Freedom, Equality and Mutual Aid

CO-OPERATION and competition are the two great rival relationships which may exist between men in their efforts to supply their wants. Co-operation reigns supreme in family life and competition holds sway chiefly in the factory and the market, in modern industry and commerce. There must always be an important place for competition in economic life because, as we have learned, it corresponds to certain needs of human nature. It is a most powerful stimulus to effort, and it is a method of trying and testing so that the best can be chosen.

Yet, like other powerful forces, competition is a good servant and a bad master. Unless it is regulated it sacrifices the weak to the strong and it ends by the strong making themselves monopolists and dictators, so that competition itself exists no more.

In our modern economic society, which has been so much given over to competition, there is a special interest and value in the efforts that have been made to promote the great alternative principle, which is co-operation. Co-operative societies have been founded so that men could work together in supplying their wants on a basis of freedom, equality and mutual aid.

The "Rochdale Plan"

The attempts at co-operation have taken different forms. The most successful form in Britain is known by the name of the "Rochdale plan," and it is represented by the co-operative stores selling groceries and other goods which exist in most of our towns and many villages. The origin of the Rochdale plan makes an interesting story. In the year 1844 a number of poor weavers in Rochdale felt that they were made to pay too dearly for the necessities of life in the shops of the town. Twenty-eight of these working-men saved up £1 each, making a combined capital of £28, and they formed a society called the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.

With the small capital at their command they were able to buy a stock of flour, butter, sugar and other groceries at wholesale prices. They had not the capital to rent a regular shop at first and they used the house of one of their members. The goods which they had bought wholesale they sold to their individual members at the ordinary retail prices. At the end of three months they found there was a profit. How was it to be divided? It might have been divided equally on the principle that each member had subscribed an equal amount of capital to the enterprise. It was decided, however, to divide the profit according to the value of the goods purchased from the

society by each member. Thus if one member had spent £12 with the society in the three months and another member had spent £6, the dividend paid to the former would be twice what was paid to the latter. This division of profits in proportion to purchases was the chief characteristic of the "Rochdale plan." It was conceived to be not so much a way of dividing profits as abolishing them. The purchaser was getting his goods at cost price, for the society returned to him his proportionate share of the balance remaining in the hands of the society after it had met all its costs and made such other financial provisions as it thought necessary or desirable. The plan gave the individual member a direct incentive to purchase goods from the society in preference to rival traders.

The society prospered remarkably. During its first year the turnover was £710 and the distributed profit £22. Ten years later the society had an annual turnover of £45,000 and the profit was over £3000. Thirty years later the turnover was £305,000 and the profit £48,000. Co-operative societies were formed in other towns on the Rochdale plan and were similarly successful. They have been increasing and multiplying to the present day, when there are tens of thousands of co-operative stores on the Rochdale plan with millions of members and a turnover of hundreds of millions of pounds.

The Rochdale Plan Individualist as well as Co-operative

The "Rochdale plan" owes its success partly to the appeal it makes to the individual desire of dividends. The individual member has a selfish though legitimate motive for purchasing from the society, since every purchase means an addition to his dividend. To this extent the Rochdale plan is individualist as well as co-operative. But what entitles the Rochdale pioneers to be considered true co-operators is that they always kept their society free and open to new members on terms of perfect equality with the old. Had the Rochdale pioneers been selfish men they might have kept the society to themselves and refused to admit new members when they found their experiment in shopkeeping was successful. They could have sold goods to non-members in the ordinary way of business and kept the profits to themselves. They did not do so because they were inspired by the ideal of conducting business as an enterprise in mutual aid instead of for competitive profit-seeking.

"Self-Governing Workshops"

There have been other forms of co-operation not successful. At one time many efforts were made to start co-operative workshops, or "self-

governing workshops," as they were called. These experiments in co-operation were promoted by Charles Kingsley, the famous novelist, and other well-meaning men who wanted to see better conditions for workmen. It seemed that workmen were oppressed and exploited by profit-seeking employers, and that the reason why the workmen depended on the employers was because the workmen lacked capital. The group of philanthropists associated with Kingsley decided they would provide groups of workmen with the capital they needed and let them start businesses as co-operators and equals. They would elect their own managers, and all the profits that might be earned would be divided among the workers instead of going to any employer or capitalist.

Why They Failed

Tailoring and other kinds of workshops were hopefully started on these lines, but all of them failed. A few did not fail as businesses, but they failed to maintain their co-operative character. The workers who managed to make their particular undertakings prosperous refused to admit new workers as members on equal terms, with a right to elect the management and to share in the profits. New workers were engaged simply as wage-earners and the businesses became ordinary commercial concerns instead of co-operative societies. But in most cases the self-governing

workshops collapsed entirely. They could not be made to pay their way and it is disappointing to learn that they were failures because of their "self-governing" character. A manager dependent on the votes of his subordinates, and liable to be overruled by a committee of men to whom he had to give orders, could not enforce proper discipline or exercise necessary initiative. The history of the self-governing workshops shows the necessity of authority and discipline in industry.

Distinction between Consumers' and Producers' Co-operation

Co-operative societies on the Rochdale plan are examples of *consumers'* co-operation, because they exist to supply consumers with the goods they need, and it is consumers who are the members of the society and control the management. Other societies are examples of *producers'* co-operation. The self-governing workshops, had they survived, would be of this kind, and indeed there are a few small factories existing where the workers, or a number of them, have the chief share of the ownership and control, so that the factories can be regarded as co-operative.

The chief examples of producers' co-operation are to be found in agriculture. Farmers often combine to have a dairy where they can all send their milk to be made into butter. They combine

to purchase stock, and by buying in bulk are able to get lower prices than if each farmer went to a private dealer. In some countries the farmers combine to sell their produce. In Western Canada the farmers were dissatisfied with the prices they received for their produce when they sold to merchants. They therefore clubbed together and agreed to sell all their wheat to a "Pool" managed by men elected by themselves. The "Pool" sold the wheat to buyers in Britain and other wheat-importing countries. The price paid to the farmer depends on the price obtained by the "Pool," but every farmer knows that he gets the same price as all the other farmers who are members of the "Pool" and that altogether they get the full market value of their wheat with a deduction for the expenses of selling.

Co-operation for Credit Supply

Another important form of co-operation covers the supply of credit. In all businesses, small and large, there are times when loans are required. A farmer, for instance, sinks all his capital in the ground. He will have money enough when he reaps his crop and gets it to market, but until then he needs credit. If he suffers some special misfortune, like a bad season, he has exceptional need of credit. There may be times, too, when he needs credit to improve his equipment or extend his farm. As an individual he might not be able

to offer sufficient security to get a loan from a bank, and if he goes to a moneylender he will have to pay excessive rates of interest. A society representing all the farmers in a neighbourhood can do what the individual cannot ; the society can get credit from a bank, or perhaps from the Government, and can re-lend to its individual members because it knows their character and circumstances and can decide whether they are trustworthy. Credit societies operating in this way exist in many agricultural countries. They are not confined to farmers and are sometimes found among small shopkeepers and artisans.

Co-operation should not supplant Individual Responsibility

Producers' co-operation has succeeded where it has supplemented and not supplanted individual enterprise and responsibility. The farmer may depend on a co-operative society to enable him to obtain credit and to buy stock and sell produce on favourable terms, but his success still depends on his own prudence in buying the right things and upon the judgment, skill and industry with which he works his farm.

The word "co-operators" implies a degree of independence as well as combination. **A compulsory combination is not the same thing as co-operation.** The Post Office and municipal tramways and other undertakings have a different

character from co-operative societies because they are not voluntary and independent.

Factors in Co-operative Success

The life of a co-operative society depends on a co-operative spirit among the members, that is to say, a willingness on the part of the individuals to work for the good of the society and not simply for their own dividends. The success of a co-operative undertaking depends on the management being allowed sufficient initiative and possessing sufficient ability. There is no magic in the Rochdale plan or any other device by itself. The twenty-eight weavers would have had no profits to divide if they had not been prudent in the stocks they bought. Buying the wrong goods and buying at the wrong time means loss instead of profit. A co-operative society, like a private business, depends for its success on good management.

Consumers' co-operation in Britain has grown to an impressive magnitude, with an aggregate capital and an annual trade counted in hundreds of millions of pounds. Yet it represents only a small fraction of the retail trade of the country and a still smaller fraction of the total trade. Having succeeded so far it is rather strange that it has not advanced further. One of the reasons for the limitation of its development is that co-operative enterprise allows less scope and incentive than

private enterprise for the fullest exercise of the best managing ability.

There are three principal forms of economic enterprise : private, public and co-operative. In a healthy society there must be room for all three. The wise citizen will not be an exclusive partisan of any one of them, but will wish a fair field for all, because each of them is needed, and each has a beneficial influence on the others in making all contribute to the common welfare.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *How did the "Rochdale Plan" combine individualism with co-operation?*
2. *Why did co-operative workshops fail?*
3. *How is co-operation practised among farmers?*

*PERSONAL THRIFT AND
SOCIAL INSURANCE*

Saving for Capital

THE subject of thrift has its place in Civics because this virtue is as important for social welfare as for individual prosperity. In a former lesson we have seen the necessity of capital to the maintenance and progress of industry. Capital is the result of saving, of refraining from the immediate enjoyment of goods so that they can be used for further production. The nation cannot afford to depend only on the savings of the rich for its supply of capital. The rich are not rich enough to make all the savings that are required. This is particularly true in these days, when large incomes and fortunes are subject to very heavy taxation. It is a right and proper policy to make the rich pay a larger proportion of their wealth in taxes than is exacted from poorer citizens, but this policy can be carried too far. If the result of such taxation is to discourage enterprise and saving and industry, it is like killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

A nation is not in a safe or healthy condition if it depends only on a small class of rich people for the performance of an essential function like the provision of capital. It is desirable that the moral and economic advantages of saving should

be spread among all classes. The industrial welfare of the nation will then rest on a more secure, because a broader, basis. Some wise words on this subject have been spoken by Sir Josiah Stamp, who is one of the greatest authorities in the world to-day on questions of economics and industry :

“ Denying of oneself for the future is one of the most important features in the development of individual character, and it will be an unmixed blessing if, instead of allowing the necessity for accumulation to devolve upon a few lucky and dyspeptic individuals, its duties and its privileges and its joys are shared by the multitude. It will need quite an appreciable amount of saving per head by the working and middle classes to make good the diminished amount of saving caused by the heavy taxation on the rich. Let us agree that it is in the national interests that a given amount should be accumulated every year. In my judgment it is a far finer thing for one hundred people to save £10 each than for one person to save £1000. I do not, therefore, deplore the change over, that we see going on under our eyes, provided that it is *really made*, and that we do not fall between two stools ! I only wish to make the point now that, so far as the national savings are concerned, we are taking away from the power of the rich without making sure that we have secured the new supply to an equivalent extent from the other classes. If those classes are enjoying the privileges of this enforced redistribution of

wealth, they must at least discharge its responsibilities. A share of privileges ought to mean a share of responsibility, and a democracy that will not let its wealthy save and will not save for itself, must slowly sink in the scale of civilization.”¹

Saving for Individual Needs

Sir Josiah Stamp is emphasizing the industrial need of saving, the necessity of increasing supplies of capital for the progress of the national industries. Saving is equally necessary as provision for individual needs in the future. All through the ages the experience of mankind has inculcated the lesson of thrift expressed in innumerable proverbs. “Thrift is a great revenue,” said Cicero, corresponding to our English proverb that a penny saved is a penny earned. “Thrift is too late at the bottom of the purse,” wrote Seneca, another ancient philosopher, and there was the same good sense, if not the same elegance of language, in the popular song of a few years ago :

“Put a little bit away for a rainy day,
The sun won’t always shine.”

Voluntary Thrift Societies

Thrift is an insurance or protection against the risks and needs of the future. Though quite rightly practised for individual motives it is most

¹ In Foreword to *The Building Society Movement*, by H. Bellman.

effective when it takes social or co-operative forms. For hundreds of years the people of this country have had the admirable custom of forming voluntary associations called Friendly Societies. The members make weekly or other periodical payments to the society and have the right to benefits in sickness, old age, unemployment and other times of need. Members make provision not only for themselves but for those dependent on them.

Apart from the value of thrift and insurance in themselves, these voluntary associations have been great schools of character-training and self-government for the people of this country. It is to the credit of the trade unions that they have generally undertaken friendly society functions in addition to their special work of maintaining conditions of employment.

Voluntary action for self-help has merits not belonging to compulsory action and State help, and we might have wished to see the voluntary friendly societies and trade unions occupying the whole ground of mutual insurance. This, however, has not been possible. It became necessary for the State to organize many forms of insurance on a basis of compulsion, for the poorer members of the community were not able, without assistance, to insure themselves adequately. In the national systems of health and pensions and unemployment insurance now established for the

benefit of the workers a substantial part of the cost falls upon the employers and the State.

National Health Insurance

Health insurance was the first of these forms of insurance undertaken by the State. Broadly speaking, it applies only to wage-earners and, with certain exceptions, it applies to all wage-earners over the age of sixteen. A weekly contribution is deducted from wages and the employer adds to it an equal or greater amount which he himself pays. As benefits the contributors are entitled to medical attendance and treatment and medicine free of charge whenever needed. If they are too ill to work they become entitled to sickness benefit payments.

Old Age and Widows' Pensions

Linked with National Health Insurance there is a scheme of old age and widows' pensions. A weekly pension becomes payable at the age of sixty-five to all who have been continuously insured for five years immediately before reaching that age. The wife of a man receiving this pension also becomes entitled to a pension of the same amount when she is sixty-five.

Widows' pensions are payable to those whose husbands were insured persons for at least two years before they died. Widows entitled to

pension are entitled also to allowances for children they may have under sixteen years of age who have not left school.

Unemployment Insurance

The other great State insurance scheme is against Unemployment. With the main exceptions of agriculture, domestic service and nursing of the sick, Unemployment Insurance applies to all the occupations included in the National Health Insurance scheme. Weekly contributions are paid by workers and employers. The State also makes a contribution to the costs of this insurance.

The benefits paid in sickness and unemployment and the pensions in widowhood and old age are not large in amount. They serve only for the simplest and most urgent necessities unless they are supplemented by other income or resources. Yet they are far larger than ordinary working people could provide for themselves either by individual savings or by methods of mutual insurance. The inadequacy of voluntary insurance is the justification for the State schemes with their elements of compulsion upon employers, employed and taxpayer.

Voluntary thrift and insurance have not been rendered unnecessary by the State schemes. On the contrary, voluntary societies have an essential part in the working of the National Health In-

surance scheme. It is from the voluntary societies that the State obtained the ideas and the experience it needed before it established the national systems.

Building Societies

Since the Great War there has been a very gratifying development in the form of thrift and co-operation represented by Building Societies. These are societies which facilitate the saving of money, and when a comparatively small amount has been saved the member can borrow a larger amount sufficient to enable him to buy the house he occupies. He repays the loan by instalments which are not much larger than the amount he would have to pay as rent if he lived in a house owned by somebody else. In course of time he has repaid the whole of the loan obtained from the Building Society and he is in the independent position of owning his house rent-free. This chapter may be ended with an expression of the opinion of an ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. :

“ No movement of co-operative self-help is more worthy of support than that of the Building Societies. A house should be an expression of a personality, and whenever it is possible it ought to be owned and not rented. Would that every workman could own his own home just as he owns his own clothes.”

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Show that many small savings are better than a few large savings.*
2. *What are the forms of co-operative thrift?*
3. *How does the State supplement individual saving for personal and family needs?*

THE LEGAL PROTECTION OF LABOUR

THE working-man, the working-woman and the working-child—for child labour looms large in modern industrial history—are too weak by themselves to secure decent and human conditions of employment. The need of the worker for employment is a need for livelihood and is nearly always more urgent than the need of employers for labour. This enables unscrupulous employers to impose harsh and oppressive conditions as to wages, hours of labour and exposure to danger to health and morals. It is not that employers as a class are unscrupulous, but there are bad men in every class, and the bad employers, by running their businesses more cheaply at the expense of labour, may undersell the good employers until these feel driven to the same methods of lowering their costs.

The Maintenance of Standards

The safeguard against this inhuman competition is to impose certain standards of employment on an industry to which all employers must conform. There need to be standard wages, standard working hours, and standard conditions of safety, health and welfare. Thus labour is protected against tyrannical oppression, and the good employers are protected against the unfair competition of the bad.

The individual worker is generally powerless to achieve this protection for himself, but there are two principal methods by which the protection can be secured. One is by labour organizations, as we have already learned in the chapter on Trade Unions ; the other is by the law-making power of the State. In the Middle Ages the conditions of labour were regulated by the Gilds. From the time of Queen Elizabeth until the Industrial Revolution labour was protected partly by law and partly by the influence of age-long custom.

Fallacious Freedom

As related in the chapter on Trade Unions, the Industrial Revolution was a time when methods of production were changed, customs were changed, laws were changed. Most important of all, fundamental opinions were changed. The ruling classes of the country came to believe in a policy that was misleadingly called " free competition." This policy is often referred to in books as *laissez faire*, French words meaning " to leave alone." It was thought that the best policy of Government was to leave economic matters alone, to let people do as they liked with their capital and labour and as they agreed among themselves. This was called " freedom," but it was a fallacious use of the word, because the poverty and weakness of the workers left them no real freedom to get what

they reasonably wanted from the richer and stronger employers. The system was very "unfree" competition from the point of view of the workers.

Child Slaves in Early Factories

It was only very gradually that the need for legal protection of the workers was recognized by the ruling classes at the time when modern forms of industry were being established. The first factory legislation which Parliament could be persuaded to pass was applied only to pauper children, whose ill-treatment was so terrible that the Government could not refuse to intervene and give them legal protection.

When machinery first came into use towards the end of the eighteenth century it depended on water power, and the factories were built chiefly in remote parts of the North of England where there were swift-flowing streams. The labour supply in such places was insufficient for the factories and, moreover, the country folk would not accept employment in the factories on the shocking conditions offered. The employers, therefore, went to Poor Law Authorities in London and other towns and got children from the workhouses. The Poor Law Authorities were glad to be relieved of the expense of keeping the children, and the employers promised to give them

food, lodging, clothing and instruction. Hundreds of these children, from the age of seven upwards, were sent from the towns to the rural places where the factories were situated.

The conditions of slaves have seldom been worse than those of these poor child victims. They lived in houses like prisons, on food only fit for pigs, and they had to work twelve, and sometimes fourteen and sixteen hours a day. The factories when busy were kept going night and day, and the children worked in relays. The beds which were used at night by one set of children were slept in during the day by those who had come from the night shift. It was grimly said that the beds were never cold—and never clean. Children who tried to run away were chained at their work and even in their sleep.

The First Factory Act

These miserable orphans had no parents to look after them, and the factories being in remote places were not under general observation. The spread of contagious diseases among them raised an alarm and in 1802, after some years of agitation, Parliament passed the first Factory Act. It was called the "Health and Morals Act relating to Labour of Bound Children in Cotton Factories." The word "bound" indicates that the children were supposed to have been apprenticed by the

Poor Law Authorities to the employers, but this was a mere form and the children received none of the care and training proper to apprentices. The Act prohibited the binding of children younger than nine years, it prohibited night work and limited the working day to twelve hours. A reform which allowed children nine years of age to be kept working at machines twelve hours a day and six days a week left much to be desired, but it was an improvement on the hideous conditions that had been allowed to prevail before.

With the introduction of steam power, factories came to be built more in towns where there was a larger labour supply. Town employers did not need bound labour from the workhouses, for they could employ children of the poor families in the neighbourhood of the factories. These children, not being "bound," were not protected by the Act of 1802. It was assumed that these children could be protected by their parents. The assumption was vain. Factory conditions became almost as horrible as before. Robert Owen, himself a rich manufacturer, raised his voice for protective legislation, and in 1815 the protection applying to bound children was extended to all children working in cotton factories.

The Pioneers of Factory Reform

Some small measure of legal protection for labour had been gained, but it applied only to

the youngest children and to cotton mills. There was still much to be done, and a noble band of reformers set themselves to win more human conditions for the factory workers. The most devoted and influential of the factory reformers was Lord Shaftesbury, and other names to be held in honour as those of men associated with him are Robert Southey, famous in English literature, Michael Sadler, M.P., and Richard Oastler, author of a series of letters published in the newspapers under the title of *Slavery in Yorkshire*. Oastler asserted that the horrors said to be endured by the negro slaves in the West Indies were the actual fate of English children in the Yorkshire factories.

Strenuous agitation brought about a substantial reform in an Act of 1833. This Act applied to all textile mills, not only to cotton, and it limited the working day of a nine-year-old child to eight hours, but a thirteen-year-old child could still be kept working twelve hours a day. The Act of 1833 provided for the appointment of factory inspectors, so that the law became better enforced than it had previously been.

Progress since 1847

In 1847 a still greater victory was achieved by the reformers with the passing of what became famous as the "Ten Hours Act." This applied

to women as well as all workers under eighteen years of age employed in factories, and it limited their working day to ten hours. The law said nothing about the hours of men, but the men actually gained what had been granted to the women and young workers, for the employers did not wish to keep the factories open for a longer day than the women and young persons could be employed.

The importance of the Act of 1847 lies in the fact that experience proved it to be a success, and it did not cause any harm to trade and industry as its opponents had predicted. From that time onwards a great deal more legislative protection for labour has been established. Hours are regulated for men as well as women and young persons, the age-limit for the employment of children has been raised, and in some industries a minimum wage for all workers has been fixed by law. Protection is not limited to factories, but extends to all kinds of employments. We may confidently look forward to greater progress in the future. A most important development is the establishment of the International Labour Office in connection with the League of Nations. One nation is unwilling to go far in advance of others because it fears its trade will suffer from foreign competition, but when all nations agree on improved standards of labour protection this obstacle to progress is removed.

The Need for Right Moral Principles

Lord Shaftesbury, the greatest of English factory reformers, was a deeply religious man inspired by Christian principles in his work for factory reform. Such principles are indispensable to a solution of the labour problem, which has caused so many difficulties in modern society.

There is no solution in mere force, economic or political. Trade unions have existed for more than a hundred years and working-men have had votes for over sixty years. The unemployment and low wages existing to-day are proof that these evils cannot be overcome with economic and political weapons only. Often a step forward has been followed by several steps backward. The coal miners, for instance, gained the Seven Hours Act in 1919, but had to submit to its repeal and the passing of an Eight Hours Act in 1926.

Reforms to be beneficial must not be the outcome of selfish conflicts between parties and classes : they must be the expression of what the people generally feel to be fair and right. Employers and employed must conscientiously perform their respective duties and have regard for each other's rights. Compulsion without moral conviction will not secure honest work on the one side or fair wages on the other. For the establishment of justice and peace between Capital and Labour there is need of mutual goodwill based on

Christian motives and principles such as inspired and guided Lord Shaftesbury.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Why does the worker need legal protection against the employer?*
2. *What were the evils that the first Factory Acts were intended to remedy?*
3. *Why is the establishment of the International Labour Office to be welcomed?*

Chapter Twenty-Four

GUARDING THE PUBLIC HEALTH

SOME of the readers of this book will not be too young to remember the epidemic of what was called Spanish influenza, which raged through the world in the last year of the Great War and caused more deaths in one year than the war itself caused in five. In the history of England we read of still more terrible visitations like the Plague in the seventeenth century and, worst of all, the Black Death in 1349, when half of the adult population were carried off.

When Towns were Death-Traps

Of all the achievements of modern civilization the greatest is the protection of life by the services connected with Public Health. When towns were few and small and the mass of the people lived the open-air life of the countryside, it was possible to tolerate very simple sanitary arrangements. The time came, however, when towns were death-traps. London in the eighteenth century always had more deaths than births. It was only the addition of healthy people from the country that kept the population of the metropolis from declining.

The enemy of life and health, an enemy more deadly than war, was—dirt! The remedy lay in cleanliness, in the removal of refuse, in proper drains and sewers, the provision of pure water

and the prevention of contamination of food. All such provisions are summed up under the name of sanitation. It is painful to read of the opposition and apathy encountered by the men who pointed out the need for a public policy of sanitation. There was a Dr. Lynch in London who strove with all his strength to make the City Council do its duty regarding sanitary policy, and who "supplied a ghastly illustration of the truth of his complaint by catching typhus fever in the London slums, dying and leaving a widow and children unprovided for."¹

The Work of Edwin Chadwick

Lord Shaftesbury, whose work for factory children was referred to in an earlier chapter, also took a leader's part in the fight for public health. The greatest credit of all belongs to Edwin Chadwick. He was a Government official, but the Government cannot share the credit given to him, for it hampered him at every turn and finally pensioned him from the public service because he insisted on being too active. He began in 1837 by getting reports on the causes of fever in London, and then by investigating housing conditions. In 1842 he published his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain*, which was followed two years later

¹ Dr. Gilbert Slater, *The Making of Modern England*.

by the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Health of Towns. The report of this Commission showed that Bath and South Shields were the only towns where there was proper provision for removing refuse from the poorer quarters. Bradford had no sewers and no draining regulations ; the working people had to buy water from carts that came round the streets. Similar reports were given of other towns.

The report of the Royal Commission failed to cause remedial measures to be taken, but it was not long before the Government and the nation learned the needed lesson from a terrible teacher. In 1847 there was a visitation of cholera, and, as Dr. Gilbert Slater grimly remarks, the dreaded plague proved a valuable sanitary inspector.¹ It is to be thanked for the passing of the Public Health Act of 1848. There was set up a General Board of Health with Edwin Chadwick as a member and, despite the obstruction he had to meet, his driving force led to important progress being made before he had to retire from office in 1854.

Public Health Authorities and What They Do

At the present day Great Britain is happily in the front rank of nations for care of the public health. The central supervising authority is the Ministry of Health in England and the Scottish Board of Health in Scotland. The local admini-

¹ Dr. Gilbert Slater, *ibid.*

stration of public health services is in the hands of County, Borough and District Councils. These local authorities appoint expert staffs. Every authority appoints a medical officer and a number of inspectors. Counties and large boroughs appoint a public analyst. Often the medical officer has assistants and health visitors working under his direction.

Infectious diseases particularly demand the attention of public health authorities. There are two objects in view, the cure of the disease in the persons affected and the prevention of its spread to others. Certain diseases, such as smallpox, cholera, diphtheria and scarlet fever, must be notified to the Medical Officer. After *notification* steps are taken when necessary for *isolation* and *disinfection*, that is to say, the patient is removed to a special kind of hospital and his house, bedding and clothing are disinfected. The Medical Officer tries to trace the infection to its source so that he can prevent its further spread.

The protection of the food supply is a concern of the Public Health Authority because many diseases may result from eating food which has become polluted. Flies are among the most dangerous carriers of disease germs, and they are often responsible for the infection of food. Milk requires particular care because it may have come from a diseased cow or it may have been infected in distribution. Sometimes food is made poison-

ous, or what is almost as bad, deprived of its nutritive value by fraudulent adulteration. Public Health Inspectors are appointed to see that food sold to the public is pure, wholesome and unadulterated. Unfortunately they are not entirely successful, and there is need for vigilance by the public themselves in this matter.

Housing and general sanitation are a concern of Public Health Authorities. Houses so damp, or ill-ventilated, or dirty, or out of repair as to be unhealthy or unsafe for those living in them should be made right or demolished. The Local Authority has all the necessary legal powers to deal with houses unfit for habitation, but it must be confessed that these powers remain too often unused. Anything giving rise to a nuisance, such as drains, gutters, ash pits, black smoke, chemical refuse, accumulations of manure, the improper keeping of animals, overcrowding in houses, factories, etc., should be remedied by the Health Inspectors. If such nuisances exist unremedied on a very large scale the blame is to be laid on the apathy of public opinion.

Motherhood and Child Welfare claim an increasing attention from Public Health Authorities. Every progressive district now has *Maternity and Child Welfare Centres* where mothers are given help and advice as to the care and feeding of their children under five years of age. For children of school age there is the School

Medical Service, but this is administered by the Education Authority and not the Public Health Authority properly so-called. There are three divisions of the work of the School Medical Service, *inspection* for the discovery of disease and defect, the provision of *curative facilities* and the taking of *preventive measures*. There is curative treatment for ailments of the eyes, ears and teeth, and enlarged tonsils and adenoids. Preventive measures include physical training and education in hygiene.

The reason for having a School Medical Service is that defects, small though they may be, not noticed and cured in childhood, gradually grow worse with age and become serious disabilities in after-life. It must be remembered, however, that school care cannot dispense with the need for parental care. The chief responsibility for the safeguarding of children's health rests upon their parents.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What are the public measures taken against the spread of infectious disease?*
2. *How is the purity of food supplies safeguarded?*
3. *In what ways is the health of children cared for?*

Chapter Twenty-Five

THE NATION'S SCHOOLS

The Roots of Civilization

THE young students for whom this book is written have advantages in the schools provided or maintained by the State which they will better appreciate if they know something of the labour and sacrifices made in olden days to bring knowledge within the reach of the children of the nation. The story of our schools begins with the roots of English civilization. There was a very early English rhymer who wrote :

“ St. Gregory lookes to little boyes to teach their a.b.c.
And make them for to love their booke, and schollers
good to be.”

St. Gregory was Pope at Rome at the end of the sixth century. Among the works for which he is famous was the founding of a choir school at Rome which became a pattern to schools all over Europe. When he beheld the little English slave boys in the Saxon market-place, he planned to educate such boys in Rome and send them back to their native England as teachers and evangelizers of their fellow-countrymen. He sent the monk Augustine to England, and a catalogue of the books brought by these first missionaries is still preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge.

"The Father of Our National Education"

Augustine made his headquarters at Canterbury, which soon became famous for its schools. In the North of England, another band of monks, under Bishop Aidan, engaged in the same labours of preaching, teaching and study at Lindisfarne. "All who bore company with Aidan," says the Venerable Bede, "whether monks or laymen, were employed either in studying the Scriptures or in singing psalms. This was his own daily employment wherever he went. If he was invited to eat with the king he went with one or two clerks, and having taken a simple repast he made haste to be gone with them either to read or to write."

Bede himself is called by a modern historian "the father of our national education," because of the six hundred scholars he gathered round him in his school at Jarrow. There is a letter written by Bede to Archbishop Egbert of York in the year 735 urging the appointment of priests in the rural districts to instruct the peasants in the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, which Bede himself had translated into English—a very different English, of course, from that of our own days.

The Law of King Alfred

A hundred years passed away from the time of Bede. The lamp of learning lighted by Augus-

tine, Aidan and Bede was extinguished in the darkness of the Danish invasions. King Alfred the Great was in nothing more great than in his efforts to restore education. He made a law that every freeman possessed of two hides of land should keep his sons at school till they were fifteen, "because a man born free, who is unlettered, is to be regarded no otherwise than as a beast, having, like them, no understanding."

The efforts of educators in those far-off Anglo-Saxon days may seem to be small compared with the national system in our own days, but let us remember the handicaps under which they worked. Until their conversion to Christianity the Anglo-Saxons had no written language whatever. It was not till the time of Alfred that any of their poetry or stories had been written down and that their language had been reduced to grammatical rules. There was no such thing as printing, all books were written by hand. The rudeness of the materials available is illustrated by the story of King Alfred's invention of the horn lantern or lanthorn. The King had vowed to devote half of each day and each night to prayer, but as there were no clocks it was not easy to know the hour. Alfred ordered wax candles to be made of equal size and he measured the passage of time by the period a candle kept alight. Sometimes, however, a candle would be blown out by the wind which came into the buildings, so Alfred,

learning that cows' horns when carefully scraped were transparent like glass, had lanthorns made where the candles could burn protected from gusts of wind.

Gain, Loss and Recovery of Schools for the People

As the settlement and improvement of England continued through the Middle Ages there was a multiplication of schools founded in connection with monasteries, cathedrals, parish churches and by special endowments. These schools were mostly for the poor, as the rule was for children of the rich to be educated by tutors attached to their own households. When the greedy King Henry VIII. confiscated property held for religious purposes he seized much that had provided endowments for the education of the poor. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries education had become the privilege and monopoly of the rich, "while the mass of the people were sunk in continually deeper ignorance."¹

The first attempt to restore to the common people some of the opportunities of which they had been robbed took the form of charity schools founded by philanthropic individuals, primarily in order that the poor might have some instruction in religion. It was not till the year 1833 that the Government made a grant for the building of

¹ Slater, *The Making of Modern England*.

schools. Up till that time the State had left education entirely to voluntary effort. State grants led to State inspection of schools, and in 1870 it became the law of the land that there should be a public elementary school in every district. Where there were not sufficient schools provided by voluntary effort, they were to be built by the local government authority. Soon afterwards it became legally compulsory for children to attend school.

The first Parliamentary grant for education in 1833 was £20,000 ; the annual grant is now over £40,000,000 in addition to the money raised by Local Education Authorities. This enables us to see the growth of the State's provision for education.

Education Authorities To-day

The Local Education Authorities are the County Councils and County Borough Councils. These councils act through their Education Committees, which include men and women who may not be members of the councils but are appointed to the Education Committees because of their knowledge of educational requirements. The Central Authority for the whole of England and Wales is the Board of Education, and all the local authorities are subject to its control.

Public education is no longer confined to the elementary grades, but extends from "nursery schools" to the University. Elementary edu-

tion is in a legal class by itself because it is compulsory, that is to say, every child, unless there be some special excuse, must attend an elementary school up to the age of fourteen. When education is made compulsory by the State in the sense of enforcing school attendance the education is provided free, that is to say, no school fees are charged. Secondary education is of a more advanced kind than elementary ; it is not made compulsory and it is not generally provided free, though there are a certain number of free places in secondary schools available to winners of scholarships.

Different Types of Education

A great change is coming over the educational system of this country at the present time. A law has been made raising the age for compulsory attendance after September 1939 to fifteen. Children will complete what may be called the elementary course at about eleven years of age, and then, if they do not go to secondary schools, will go to a new type of Senior School where education specially suited to the abilities of the students, and to their requirements in after-life, will be given. There are plans also for Continuation Schools which young people must attend up to the age of eighteen, although they may be in wage-earning employment part of the day.

Amongst the facilities provided as part of the public educational system to-day besides the

elementary and secondary schools are technical schools, art schools, commercial schools, evening classes, adult education classes and university scholarships. *Vocational* education is the special instruction given for a particular trade or profession that a student expects to make his own in life, and it is given in commercial, technical and other schools.

"Provided" and "Non-Provided" Schools

Schools in England fall into divisions of "provided" and "non-provided." As we have seen, the State came very late into the field of educational effort. It began by giving small grants to schools already existing that had been built by various religious bodies. Later, the Local Education Authorities began to build schools, but it was a long time before these were as numerous as those built voluntarily. The voluntary schools were carrying on the work of education, and the Education Act of 1902 was designed to make one national system for all the public elementary schools whether built voluntarily or by local authorities. In the first year after the passing of this Act there were nearly three times as many voluntary schools as Council schools. The Act of 1902 described the schools built by local authorities as "provided" schools and the voluntary schools as "non-provided." These latter have nearly all a religious character, their upholders believing that

religious teaching should not be separated from general education.

Children belong to their parents more than they belong to the State, and it is reasonable to allow the parents the right to determine the religious or non-religious character of the education given to their children. The claims of parents who desire a denominational religious education for their children are partially satisfied by the national system in England and Wales, and more fully in Scotland. In England and Wales the State does not build schools where denominational teaching is given, but it meets the cost of giving education in such schools when built by voluntary effort.

We cannot be too thankful for the generous provision of educational facilities in this country to-day. Education is not only a privilege and a joy : it is a national necessity. A nation that falls behind in education falls behind in commerce and in everything that makes for prosperity, power and greatness. As citizens we must all be interested in our national educational system and do what we can to further its progress.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *What was done for education in England up to the time of King Alfred?*
2. *What does the State now do for education?*
3. *What is the value of education?*

Chapter Twenty-Six

THE HOUSING OF THE PEOPLE

The Greatest Social Evil

BAD housing conditions have been perhaps the greatest evil in the social life of Britain since the Industrial Revolution. Millions of people have been condemned to live in slums with no fair chance of health and happiness and the precious blessings of home life. Reformers long strove for improvement, and in 1909 was passed a great Housing and Town Planning Act which gave local authorities powers to clear away unfit houses and slums and to provide healthy and decent dwellings for the people.

Town Planning

It is quite a new thing for the State, through local authorities, to provide houses for the people. The provision of housing was formerly left entirely to private commercial enterprise. A builder would build houses wherever he thought he could sell them at a profit. Working-class houses were usually bought from the builders by investors who let them to tenants at a weekly rent. There was seldom any town planning, for the aim of the builder was to crowd as many houses as possible on the land at his disposal. The idea of planning a town instead of letting it grow up anyhow finds its completest expression

in the garden city. "The essence of the idea lies in the principle of beginning at the beginning. Instead of allowing houses to be run up here and there, one block or one street quite irrespective of the position of another, drainage and water systems being introduced piecemeal as best they can . . . the whole city which is to be should be planned out from the outset with an eye to the convenience of the community as a whole."¹

In any town properly planned there must not be too many houses to the acre ; there must be plenty of open spaces and playing fields ; trees should be planted along the roads and streets, and the whole town should be surrounded by a belt of green country where agricultural workers may live and supply the town with their goods.

Housing Acts since the War

The Act of 1909 gave power to local authorities to undertake housing and town-planning schemes, but did not compel them to do so. The Great War made more drastic legislation necessary. During the war house building had to stop because labour and materials were needed for other purposes. At the end of the war, when soldiers returned to their families, there was a house famine. There was a shortage of nearly one million houses, and the shortage was increasing because something like 100,000 new houses were

¹ *Handbook of the First Garden City Co., Ltd.*

required yearly to keep pace with the growth of population.

The shortage of houses was aggravated by the high cost of building. It was recognized on all sides that the masses of the people could not possibly afford to pay the rents that would have to be charged for houses built on ordinary business lines. The only way to get houses built for the working classes was for the State and the local authorities to give financial assistance.

In 1919 was passed a new Housing and Town Planning Act, called the "Addison" Act, after Dr. Christopher Addison, the Minister who introduced it in Parliament. Since then there have been the "Chamberlain" Act of 1923 and the "Wheatley" Act of 1924, named after the Ministers responsible, Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Mr. John Wheatley.

The Scandal of Profiteering

It has proved a difficult matter to give State financial assistance to house building without causing unjustifiably higher prices for building. "Profiteering" or charging excessive prices for building in the years immediately after the war makes a very sad story. Houses which before the war had cost only about £200 were over £1000 in 1921. In that year, Sir Charles Ruthen, Director-General of Housing under the Ministry of Health, said in a public speech: "The difficulties of

housing have been increased by the gross and disgraceful profiteering of various branches of the building industry. The building of houses has been made impossible by enormous increases in the cost of building. The employer has profiteered to a disgraceful extent and the workman has profiteered."

The burdens of profiteering in those years are still being borne and must continue to be borne in the high rents charged for the houses and in the interest charges paid by the taxpayer on the money borrowed by the State and local authorities for house building.

Progress is being made year by year in lessening the housing shortage. In the five years immediately preceding the war the average number of houses built annually is estimated to have been 61,000. The improvement made is shown by the following table taken from a Report of the Ministry of Health :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Houses Built.</i>
1923-24 . . .	86,210
1924-25 . . .	136,889
1925-26 . . .	173,426
1926-27 . . .	217,629
1927-28 . . .	238,914
1928-29 . . .	169,532
1929-30 . . .	202,062
1930-31 . . .	183,807
1931-32 . . .	200,812
1932-33 . . .	200,496
1933-34 . . .	266,622
1934-35 . . .	327,915

Progress Achieved

What is particularly gratifying is that since 1931 there has been remarkable progress towards elimination of slums and overcrowding. Beginning in 1931, the Government had a Five-Year Plan for demolishing 300,000 slum houses and removing their occupants to better conditions. In 1936 was published an important "Report on the Overcrowding Survey in England and Wales," giving the results of inspections of about nine million dwellings. It was found that 341,554 (or 3·8 per cent.) were overcrowded according to standards set by the Housing Act, 1935, and a further 380,000 were near the borderline of overcrowding.

With a continuation of present efforts we may soon see the practical abolition of "overcrowding" in the legal sense, and we may hope to see ampler accommodation, especially for large families who are the greatest sufferers under existing conditions. It is to be feared that part of the decline in overcrowding is due to the smaller size of the average family, which is by no means satisfactory from the national and social point of view.

"The House I Want"

The local authorities responsible for carrying out the Housing and Town Planning Acts are Borough Councils and Urban District Councils in

the country generally and the London County Council and the Metropolitan Borough Councils in London. In truth, however, it is the ordinary citizen who has his or her share of responsibility for seeing that our housing conditions are not unworthy of a Christian and civilized country. Every one should be proud of his or her home, of its healthiness and cleanliness and comfort and beauty. Every family should have the opportunity of getting a house of which its members can be proud.

Woman is the principal homemaker, and the housing question is one which should appeal to girls even more than to boys. A well-known housing reformer has written a book with the title *The House I Want*. It is a subject on which every boy and girl might be recommended to write an essay, perhaps looking at it from the standpoint of their parents, especially of their mother. For the home is the mother's workshop. It is the mother who knows whether a house is convenient or awkward to work, whether it lends itself to being kept clean and well ventilated and lighted, whether it has the proper facilities for cooking and washing and storage, especially the storage of perishable food, and whether the rooms are of a reasonable number and size.

We have to cut our coat according to our cloth and we must keep our housing ideals within certain

limits of cost, but allowing these limits we can make great improvements simply by more intelligent planning and greater readiness to adopt new ideas. Invention and progress apply to domestic as well as to industrial work. We cannot all be managers of factories with the responsibility of keeping them up to date in structure, equipment and organization, but all of us some day will be choosing the house we want and making it the home we want. Success for ourselves and others will depend partly on the intelligent interest we take as citizens in the Housing Question.

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Describe a town as you would like it to be built.*
2. *Describe the house in which you would like to live.*
3. *What are the evil results of bad housing?*

THE COMMUNITY AND THE POOR

"Who is My Neighbour?"

ONE of the most moving of the Gospel stories is that of the Good Samaritan. A certain lawyer had asked the Lord Jesus what he should do to obtain the reward of everlasting happiness in heaven. The answer was that he should love God above all things and love his neighbour as himself. The lawyer then asked whom must he regard as his neighbour. Jesus replied by telling of a man who had been attacked by robbers on a lonely road and left wounded and nearly dying. Men of his own nation passed by without helping him, but a foreigner stopped and bound up his wounds and took him to an hotel and paid for him to be nursed and cared for. "Who," asked Jesus of the lawyer, "was neighbour to him that fell among robbers?" "He that showed mercy," was the lawyer's answer. Then Jesus said, "Act in the same way yourself."

The Poor Law of Queen Elizabeth

The lesson of the parable is that other human beings have a claim on our assistance in their need, even though there be no ties of kinship and friendship. Christian countries have always acknowledged the duty of relieving the poor and distressed. This duty is performed voluntarily

by private individuals and organizations and by the public provision of the State. It was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that an exceptional amount of distress in the country, following the destruction of the monasteries and other religious foundations which had hitherto carried on works of charity, led to the enactment of a Poor Law by which each parish was to be taxed for the support of its "imotent poor," those genuinely unable to support themselves. The able-bodied poor were to be provided with employment, and those who refused work were to be punished.

The Poor Law of 1834

The administration of the Elizabethan Poor Law was placed upon the parish, and it worked fairly well for over a hundred years, but in the stressful period of the Industrial Revolution it became very much abused. One abuse was that relief was often given in such a way that employers made it an excuse for lowering wages. Reform was certainly necessary and this was brought about by the famous—some critics have said infamous—Act of 1834. The authors and administrators of the Act set themselves chiefly to reduce the amount of public assistance. They would give relief only in cases of extreme destitution and they would impose such harsh conditions on "paupers," as those who received public relief were called, that no poor people would have

recourse to such relief if they could possibly endure without it.

A Harsh Law and Harsh Administration

Had this severity been applied only to the able-bodied poor it would have had some excuse, but the majority of paupers were the sick, the aged, and orphaned children. There is a proverb that a stitch in time saves nine. To wait until the extremity of destitution is reached before giving relief is often to wait until it is too late to give any effective aid. The right principle of relief is to try and help the persons relieved in such a way that they will become capable of self-support and will need relief no longer. This is not applicable to the aged, or to some classes of the sick and afflicted, and such poor people should be ungrudgingly helped with Christian kindness. But many of those needing relief, if they are helped promptly and adequately, can be made capable of supporting themselves as independent and useful citizens.

For a long time the administration of the Poor Law of 1834 was so stern that the paupers were treated worse than criminals. The most unfortunate sufferers were the children in Poor Law institutions, for they were given no chance in life. The treatment of the sick in Poor Law infirmaries and of the aged in workhouses was scandalous in its harshness. A better period

begins with the year 1860, when a wiser and more Christian administration of the Poor Law began slowly to make headway. For this improvement thanks are due to noble-hearted reformers like Miss Louisa Twining, who called public attention to the evils of the system as it then was.

The Act of 1834 had set up Boards of Guardians to administer relief, these boards being specially elected for Poor Law Purposes. The country was divided into *Unions*, each under a Board of Guardians, to be the areas of administration. The Unions were groups of neighbouring parishes and did not follow the same boundary lines as counties and boroughs, which were the areas for general local government. The money for Poor Law purposes was raised by a special rate called the Poor Rate, levied on the annual value of the property in the Union. Finally, the Boards of Guardians were kept strictly under the control of a central authority in London, because it was desired to have uniform administration throughout the country instead of having lax treatment in one place and strict treatment in another.

The Reform of 1929

A new reform of the Poor Law, that may be regarded as a supersession of the Poor Law, was passed by Parliament in 1929 to take effect in 1930. Boards of Guardians or Unions have been abolished, and the relief of distress is

undertaken by the County Councils and County Borough Councils, acting through Public Assistance Committees composed for the most part of county councillors and including other men and women chosen for their local knowledge and experience of aiding the poor.

One reason for this great change is that the area of the County, being larger than that of the Union, enables the burdens of poor relief to be more equally shared, for it has often happened that one Union has been almost entirely a poor district, while another Union has been comparatively rich. Further, the larger area can better support the various special institutions that are needed for the different classes of poor.

There is, however, a more fundamental reason for the reform of 1929. The idea underlying the Act of 1834 was that public assistance to the poor should be confined to the "destitute," and that the unfortunate people who were compelled to seek public assistance should be in a special category as paupers. This idea has long been abandoned, and it has come to be recognized that public assistance should be given to *prevent*, as well as to relieve destitution. Assistance should therefore be given in the earlier stages of need and it should be *adequate*. The Good Samaritan did not simply throw a penny to the wounded man ; he dressed his wounds and took him to the hotel

so as to give him every chance of complete recovery.

For many years past in England various forms of public assistance have been growing up apart from the Poor Law. The Education Authorities provide meals for necessitous school children, municipal councils have provided relief works for the unemployed, public funds are given to voluntary hospitals, there is social insurance against sickness and unemployment, and pensions for the aged and widows. All these forms of public assistance have been apart from the somewhat tainted atmosphere of the Poor Law. The abolition of the Boards of Guardians, and the transfer of their functions to the general authority for the County, signalizes the abandonment of the idea that recipients of public assistance should be invidiously classified as paupers.

"Blessed is he," says the Psalmist, "that *considereth* concerning the needy and the poor." It is by thoughtful consideration of the best means of helping, not by indiscriminate giving of doles, that we discharge our duties to the poor. Every good citizen should have an intelligent understanding of the system by which the community provides for the assistance of its members in need. We have a share of responsibility for what the community does, and our consideration or negligence as citizens will weigh in the scale of eternity itself, for the tremendous words of Him

Who is Master and will be the final Judge of us all apply to our public as our private acts : "*Inasmuch as you have done it to the least of My Brethren, you have done it to Me.*"

QUESTIONS AND POINTS FOR ESSAYS

1. *Why must the poor be helped by the community?*
2. *Why is "relief to the destitute only" a wrong principle?*
3. *Explain the most recent changes in the Poor Law.*

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